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Cyrillic and Glagolitic Printing and the Eisenstein Thesis

Robert Mathiesen

In her book, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (1979), and its abridgement, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (1983), Elizabeth L. Eisenstein puts forth a number of theses concerning the effect which the invention of printing with movable type had on the subsequent course of European history. Her work has called forth a certain amount of controversy: historians, to whom she can speak as a fellow professional, have generally ascribed a great deal of merit to it; while incunabulists and other specialists in early printing, to whom she often appears to be a dilettante, have generally found much to criticize in it. Indeed, the author often shows herself to be much less familiar with the fine points of the history of printing than with those of intellectual history.¹ I myself value Professor Eisenstein's work not so much for her conclusions about the history and historiography of Early Modern Europe, as for the questions which she has raised and for the framework of concepts within which she has tried to answer them. In this respect I believe her work will have lasting value.

Although Professor Eisenstein's titles refer to Early Modern Europe in general, she clearly has only the western part of Europe in view: rarely venturing as far east as Bohemia or Poland, she entirely ignores Lithuania, Muscovy and the Balkans; and she makes reference to Constantinople/Istanbul only as a source from which the West could obtain Greek manuscripts and scholars, never as the centre of the far-flung Ottoman Empire, on the history of which the invention and spread of printing might be thought to have had an impact.² From this too narrow point of view she can write:

The early presses which were first established between 1460 and 1480 were powered by many different forces which had been incubating in the age of scribes. In a different cultural context, the same technology might have been used for different ends (as was the case in China and Korea) or it might have been unwelcome and not used at all (as was the case in many regions outside of Europe where Western missionary presses were the first to be installed). In this light one may agree with authorities who hold that the duplicating process which was developed in fifteenth-century Mainz, was *in itself* of no more consequence than any other inanimate tool.

¹ See especially the reviews by Grafton 1980, Kingdon 1980, Needham 1980, Westman 1980, Gingerich 1981, D. Shaw 1981 and Barker 1983.

² Cf. Rafikov 1973.

Unless it had been deemed useful to human agents, it would never have been put into operation in fifteenth-century European towns. Under different circumstances, moreover, it might have been welcomed and put to entirely different uses—monopolized by priests and rulers, for example, and withheld from free-wheeling urban entrepreneurs.

Such counterfactual speculation is useful for suggesting the importance of institutional context when considering technological innovation. Yet the fact remains that once presses were established in numerous European towns, the transforming powers of print did begin to take effect.³

Yet even for Europe, speculation along these lines need not be wholly counterfactual. Presses were also established in a number of places outside Western Europe during the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries, and in these places ‘the transforming powers of print’ led to rather different results than in Western Europe.

★ ★ ★

<i>Place</i>	<i>Latin and German</i>	<i>Czech</i>	<i>Polish</i>	<i>Croatian</i>
Plzeň	1476	1475?		
Bratislava?	1480?			
Vimperk	1482	1484		
Brno	1486			
Prague		1487		
Kutná Hora		1489		
Malbork	post 1490			
Olomouc	1499			
Cracow	1473		(1506) 1513?	
Chelmno?	1473			
Wrocław	1475		(1475)	
Gdańsk	ante 1499			
Croatia?				ca. 1490
Venice				1495

Note: Dates in parentheses refer to first printing of relatively brief Slavic texts in Latin books.

Sources: Burger 1902, Teichl 1964, Bošnjak 1968, Urbańczyk 1983, Budiša 1984.

**Table 1. Latin-Alphabet Printing in Slavic Lands and Languages
(15th–Early 16th Centuries)**

³ Eisenstein 1979, pp. 702–703 (= 1983, p. 273).

The invention of printing with movable type came early to the Slavs.⁴ The Latin alphabet was used to print Slavic languages as early as 1475 or thereabouts, and the first Slavic languages printed by means of that alphabet were Czech, Polish and Croatian. (See Table 1.)

Moreover, Church Slavonic books were printed in one or other of the two Slavic alphabets as early as 1483 (in the Glagolitic alphabet) and 1491 (in the Cyrillic alphabet). Thus the two Slavic alphabets were, respectively, the fourth and fifth alphabets used to print books. (The first three are the Latin, the Greek and the Hebrew.) These five alphabets are the only ones for which

<i>Period</i>	<i>Western Scholarly and Missionary Printing</i>	<i>Indigenous Printing</i>
1450–1500	1465: Greek (Mainz, Subiaco)	1475: Hebrew (Piove di Sacco, Reggio di Calabria) 1483: Glagolitic (place unknown) 1491: Cyrillic (Cracow)
1501–1600	1513: Ethiopic (Rome) 1514: Arabic (Fano) 1539: Syriac (Pavia) 1577: Malayalam (Goa) 1578: Tamil (Quilon) 1583: Georgian (Berlin) 1583: Turkish (Berlin) 1583: Persian (Berlin) 1583: ‘Indian’ (Berlin) 1593: Samaritan (Leiden)	Armenian (Venice)
1601–1700	1611: Runic (Stockholm) 1629: Coptic (Rome) 1665: Gothic (Dort)	

Sources: Tables 4, 5, 6 and 7 below; also Reed 1952, p. 66, Emmel 1987.

Table 2. First Fonts of Type for Non-Latin Alphabets
(15th–17th Centuries)

⁴ See Myl'nikov 1967 for an excellent treatment of the events which ought to be taken as marking the start of Slavic printing. However, the true date of publication of the *Kronika Trojánská*, which he takes to be 1468 (as stated in its colophon), is controversial; see Teichl 1964, pp. 232–233 and Stilwell 1972, p. 71 in favour of a later date (ca. 1476–78?).

fonts of movable type were cut and cast during the fifteenth century.⁵ (See Table 2.)

Nor was it long before each of these two alphabets had been used to print vernacular languages: Glagolitic was first used to print books in Serbo-Croatian in 1496, or possibly even in 1492; and Cyrillic was used to print books in Serbo-Croatian in 1512, in Belorussian in 1517–19, in Romanian in 1544, in Slovene in 1583, in Ukrainian in 1587, etc.⁶ However, only a very small fraction of the books printed in Glagolitic or Cyrillic type prior to 1700 were in vernacular languages; the vast majority of them continued to be in Church Slavonic well into the eighteenth century.

Despite its early beginning, the development of printing in Eastern Europe took a different course than in Western Europe. Consequently the impact which that invention had on the history of Eastern Europe was rather different from that which it had in the West. An examination of these differences will lead us to a deeper understanding of the historical questions which Professor Eisenstein has so provocatively asked, but only begun to answer.

Much of what I have to offer will be familiar to specialists in early Slavic printing, and much of the rest will be equally familiar to their colleagues who study early printing in Western Europe. It is chiefly by juxtaposing these two fields of scholarship that I am able to make any substantial claim on your attention.⁷



It will be most appropriate to examine these differences, which in large part align themselves with different alphabets, against the general background of printing in languages and alphabets other than the Latin during the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. We shall need to distinguish several cases during those centuries:

1. languages other than Latin written by means of the Latin alphabet, usually with minor modifications (e.g. many Western European vernacular languages);

⁵ Even so satisfyingly exhaustive a reference work as Haebler's *Typenrepertorium* (1905–24), though it indexes and classifies Greek and Hebrew type fonts of the fifteenth century as well as Latin ones, fails not only to treat the Glagolitic and Cyrillic fonts of the same century, but even to warn its user of this omission. There is only the briefest of references (vol. II, p. 139) to the Glagolitic font possessed by Aldus Manutius and his heirs, and used by them to print three Church Slavonic books in 1493, 1527 and 1561 (Kruming 1977, nos. 3, 11 and 21).

⁶ Bošnjak 1968, no. 44 (or possibly 40), Badalić 1966, nos. 18/19, 20, 179, Halenchanka 1986, no. 1, Zapasko and Isaievych 1981–84, no. 18, Deletant 1975, p. 163.

⁷ There is a profound earlier study along the same lines by the Soviet scholar N. P. Kiselev (1960), which deserves the attention of every historian of early printing—despite the corrections to his views which have recently been proposed by A. S. Demin (1978, 1981, 1985, see also Derzhavina 1979, Robinson 1982, and Pozdeeva in this issue of *Solanus*).

2. languages other than Latin written by means of non-Latin alphabets, but published largely for Latin-reading scholarly markets in Western Europe or for use by Western European Catholic missionaries (e.g. Greek, Ethiopic, Syriac, Coptic); and
3. languages other than Latin written by means of non-Latin alphabets and published largely for indigenous markets (e.g. Hebrew, Church Slavonic, Armenian).

We need not spend a great deal of time on the first of these three cases. By the end of the fifteenth century, Latin-alphabet fonts of type had been used to print books in more than a dozen European vernacular languages, and by the end of the sixteenth century the list had grown to include a further dozen or so European vernacular languages, fifteen Native American languages, and a few other languages which do not fall under either of these heads. (See Table 3.) This list continued to grow, of course, during the seventeenth and subsequent centuries.

It is the second and third cases which interest us chiefly in the present paper. They both look equally 'exotic' to a Western European, and are little discussed in histories of printing. I do not think that there is a single Western European history of printing which even *lists* all the relevant alphabets for which fonts of type had been cut by the end of the seventeenth century, and I have not been able to find a single comprehensive and insightful discussion of the subject by any Western European scholar.

That there are two distinct kinds of historical events hidden behind the mask of 'exotic' typography may be seen even from a comparison of the two alphabets which are commonly treated in histories of printing, namely the Greek and the Hebrew. Books printed in each of these alphabets first appear about 1475, and continue to be printed in moderately large numbers throughout the entire period with which we are concerned.

During that period, the vast majority of books printed in the Hebrew alphabet were printed by Jews for Jewish use.⁸ Christian printing in Hebrew type apparently began in the early sixteenth century, was largely restricted to publications able to facilitate the study of the Jewish Bible and its languages by Christian scholars, and at no time has ever been responsible for more than a very small fraction of the total use of Hebrew type.⁹

The use of Greek type contrasts sharply with that of Hebrew type. The vast majority of books printed with this type throughout the three centuries under examination were produced by Western European scholars primarily for their own use. Perhaps the earliest book printed by a Greek with Greek

⁸ This is true also in the Slavic lands, where printing in the Hebrew alphabet began as early as 1512 at Prague and 1534 at Cracow (Freimann 1946, pp. 26, 59).

⁹ Febvre and Martin 1976, pp. 268–271; cf. also Schwab 1883, Marx 1919, 1924, 1948.

<i>Period</i>	<i>Languages in which Latin-Alphabet Printing Begins</i>
1451–1460	<i>Romance</i> : Latin <i>Germanic</i> : High German
1461–1480	<i>Romance</i> : Italian, French, Spanish, Catalan <i>Germanic</i> : Dutch, English, Low German, Flemish <i>Slavic</i> : Czech, (Polish)
1481–1500	<i>Romance</i> : Portuguese <i>Germanic</i> : Swedish, Danish <i>Slavic</i> : Serbo-Croatian <i>Turkic</i> : (Turkish)
1501–1520	<i>Slavic</i> : Polish <i>Semitic</i> : Arabic
1521–1540	<i>Germanic</i> : Icelandic <i>Baltic</i> : Latvian <i>Other European</i> : Estonian, Hungarian <i>Native American</i> : Nahuatl
1541–1560	<i>Romance</i> : Romansch <i>Slavic</i> : Slovene <i>Baltic</i> : Prussian, Lithuanian <i>Celtic</i> : Welsh <i>Other European</i> : Finnish, Basque, Albanian <i>Native American</i> : Huastec, Tarasc, Quiché, Chiapanec, Zoque, Tzeltal, Chinantec
1561–1580	<i>Germanic</i> : Old English <i>Celtic</i> : Irish <i>Native American</i> : Zapotec, Mixtec, Otomi, Chocho
1581–1600	<i>Slavic</i> : Slovak <i>Native American</i> : Quichua, Aymara, Tupí <i>Malayo-Polynesian</i> : Tagalog

Note: Languages in parentheses refer to first printing of relatively brief vernacular texts in Latin books.

Sources: Darlow and Moule 1903–11, Vargas Ugarte 1935–58, vol. 7, García Icazbalceta 1954, Vogel 1962, Muller and Róth 1969, Rowe 1974, Budiša 1984.

**Table 3. First Latin-Alphabet Printing in Various Languages
(15th–16th Centuries)**

use exclusively in view is the Greek Orthodox Psalter which Justin Dekadyos printed at Venice in 1494. In this book the printer stated his intention to publish additional books for Greek Orthodox liturgical use (but in fact he did not do so).¹⁰ Other printers did produce other Greek Orthodox liturgical books in the early sixteenth century and subsequently, but these were always a small fraction of the total number of books printed in Greek type throughout the world.¹¹ It is a telling fact that, although many editions of the whole Christian Bible in Greek were printed from 1518 throughout our period, the first such edition printed specifically for the use of the Greek Orthodox Church appeared only at our period's very end (Venice: Nicholas Glykys, 1687).¹²

In each of these two cases it should be noted that we are dealing with relatively small numbers of editions, compared with the number printed in the Latin alphabet: the numbers of editions are in the low hundreds during the fifteenth century, and perhaps twenty times as many during the sixteenth.¹³ The corresponding figures for Latin-alphabet printing are in the neighbourhood of 30,000 editions during the fifteenth century and perhaps 200,000 during the sixteenth.¹⁴

Most of the 'exotic' fonts cut during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries belong, like the Greek fonts, to the second of the three cases listed above. These include fonts for the alphabets (in one case, the syllabary) listed in the left column of Table 2. None of these fonts (except the Greek ones) were employed in indigenous printing until the eighteenth century, to the best of my knowledge.¹⁵ During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they seem to have been used exclusively by Western European scholars and missionaries, who also had at their disposal a relatively small number of fonts for the alphabets in the right column of Table 2 (i.e. those used chiefly in indigenous printing): Hebrew, Glagolitic, Cyrillic and Armenian. Table 4 displays some additional data on the use of all these fonts in Western European scholarly and missionary printing during the sixteenth century.

During the seventeenth century several printing shops were formed which had large holdings of 'exotic' fonts of type. Thus by 1636 the *Typographia Sanctae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide* at Rome had acquired fonts for

¹⁰ Legrand 1885–1906, no. 11.

¹¹ Legrand 1885–1906, 1894–1903, Proctor 1900, Veloudis 1974.

¹² Legrand 1894–1903, no. 610, Veloudis 1974, no. 67.

¹³ It has been estimated that some 200 books were printed in the Hebrew alphabet during the fifteenth century, and some 4,000 during the sixteenth (Febvre and Martin 1976, pp. 270–271).

¹⁴ Febvre and Martin 1976, pp. 248–249, 262, Geldner 1978, pp. 235–236; cf. also Haebler 1933, p. 205, Lenhart 1935, pp. 6–15, Hirsch 1974, p. 105.

¹⁵ For the particularly interesting case of Georgian see Gogoladze 1964a, 1964b. (The earliest use of what may be Georgian type, at Berlin in 1583, seems to have escaped Gogoladze's notice, but see Vervliet 1981, pp. 14–15.)

<i>Alphabet</i>	<i>Western European (Non-Indigenous) Use</i>
Ethiopic	1513 Rome, 1518 Cologne, 1527 Basel, 1549 Rome, 1583 Berlin, 1598 Leiden
Arabic	1514 Fano, 1516 Genoa, 1518 Venice, 1566 Rome, 1580 Rome, 1583 Berlin, 1593 Leiden
Syriac	1539 Pavia, 1555 Vienna, 1569 Antwerp, 1580 Rome, 1583 Berlin
Armenian	1539 Pavia, 1579 Rome, 1583 Berlin
Malayalam	1577 Goa
Tamil	1578 Quilon
Cyrillic	1582 Rome, 1583 Berlin
Glagolitic	1583 Berlin
Georgian	1583 Berlin
Persian	1583 Berlin
Turkish	1583 Berlin
'Indian'	1583 Berlin
Samaritan	1593 Leiden

Sources: Saltini 1860, Darlow and Moule 1903–11, Hitti 1942/43, Nemoy 1952, Reed 1952, pp. 51–71, 153–167, 175–178, Schurhammer and Cottrell 1952, Wijnman 1952–57, 1957, 1960, Vervliet 1968, pp. 315–320, Strothmann 1971, Nersessian 1980, pp. 36–38, 147–179, G. Shaw 1981, Vervliet 1981, Rafikov 1982, ch. 2, Mathiesen 1985, Kévorkian 1986, pp. XVIII–XIX, 152–174.

Table 4. Use of Alphabets Other than Latin, Greek and Hebrew in Western European Scholarly and Missionary Printing (16th Century)

Greek, Hebrew (the rabbinical as well as the usual alphabet), Syriac (the Estrangela as well as the usual alphabet), Arabic, Ethiopic, Samaritan, Coptic, Georgian, Armenian, Glagolitic and Cyrillic.¹⁶ At the same time the press of Antoine Vitré at Paris had Greek, Hebrew (usual and rabbinical), Syriac, Arabic, Samaritan, Armenian, Persian and Turkish.¹⁷ Two decades later, the printing office of Thomas Roycroft in London had fonts for Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Samaritan and Ethiopic, all of which it employed during the printing of Brian Walton’s Polyglot Bible (1653–57) and its accompanying grammars and dictionaries.¹⁸

The third of the cases listed above is for indigenous printing in non-Latin

¹⁶ Pollard 1928, nos. 2–9, Ishkhanian 1964a, Gogoladze 1964a, Nazor 1978, pp. 74–80, Nersessian 1980, pp. 36–38, Vervliet 1981, Mathiesen 1985, no. 26, Kévorkian 1986, pp. 153–165, Emmel 1987.

¹⁷ Bernard 1857, Mathiesen 1985, no. 22.

¹⁸ Reed 1952, pp. 156–163, Mathiesen 1985, nos. 23–25.

alphabets. Other than the Hebrew, only three alphabets belong here during the period under discussion: the Glagolitic, the Cyrillic and the Armenian.¹⁹

Glagolitic printing was the first of the three to develop, but it seems never to have been used widely. Fifty-eight books and broadsides are known to have been printed in Glagolitic during the fifteenth through eighteenth centuries, and all but fifteen of them were printed in just four place (Venice, Nuremberg, Urach and Rome). About half of these books were in a Croatian variety of Church Slavonic, the other half in vernacular Serbo-Croatian.²⁰ However, sixteen of the fifty-eight were published by Protestants at Nuremberg and Urach (near Tübingen), and the use of a vernacular in them conformed to the theological programme of Protestantism. The other forty-two were from Catholic presses, and only about ten of these were in the vernacular. (See Table 5.)

<i>Place</i>	<i>1450–1500</i>	<i>1501–1600</i>	<i>1601–1700</i>	<i>1701–1800</i>
Croatia	4	11		
Venice	1	3		4
Nuremberg		2		
Urach		14		
Rome			7	12
Totals:	5	30	7	16

Note: The Glagolitic font available at Berlin in 1583 had such slight use that it may be excluded from this table (Vervliet 1981, pp. 14–15).

Sources: Badalić 1966, Bošnjak 1968, Kruming 1977, Nazor 1978.

**Table 5. Distribution of Glagolitic Printing
(15th–18th Centuries)**

Cyrillic printing was the next to develop, and has always been by far the most productive of the three, not only in terms of the total number of editions printed, but also in terms of the number of places where this printing was carried out. (See Table 6.) If we confine our attention for the

¹⁹ It is difficult to make a sharp distinction between indigenous printing and Western European scholarly and missionary printing in the Glagolitic alphabet, since the alphabet's indigenous market consisted of Croatians (and to some extent Slovenes), who are also Western Europeans.

²⁰ On the varieties of Church Slavonic see Mathiesen 1984.

Place	1450–1500	1501–1600	1601–1700	1701–1800
<i>Russia:</i>				
Moscow		19	484	1,310
St Petersburg				195
elsewhere		1	4	
<i>Ukraine:</i>				
L'viv		7	111	131
Kiev			176	470
Chernihiv			30	117
Pochaiv			1	235
elsewhere		22	69	19
<i>Belorussia and Lithuania:</i>				
Vilnius/Vevis		51	81	50
Suprasl'			3	95
elsewhere		3	43	56
<i>Balkans:</i>				
all places	4	16		1
<i>Romania and Moldavia:</i>				
all places		44	72	590
<i>Other Lands:</i>				
all places	4	43	10	367
Totals:	8	206	1,084	3,636

Note: The Cyrillic font available at Berlin in 1583 had such slight use that it may be excluded from this table (Vervliet 1981, pp. 14–15). Printing in Cyrillic Civil type is excluded from this table, but may be found in Table 8 below.

Sources: Bianu, Hodoş and Simonescu 1908–44, Zernova 1958, Mihailović 1964, Badalić 1966, Bošnjak 1968, Zernova and Kameneva 1968, Bykova 1971, Deletant 1975, 1982–83, Nemirovskii 1976, Labyntsev 1979, 1982, Zapasko and Isaievych 1981–84, Halenchanka 1986.

Table 6. Distribution of Cyrillic Printing
(15th–18th Centuries)

moment to printing in the Old Cyrillic alphabet, there were 4,934 editions printed during somewhat more than three centuries (1491–1800). About one seventh of them (706) were printed in Romania (including present-day Moldavia), and constitute something of a special case. Virtually all the other Old Cyrillic editions (4,228) are in one or another variety of Church

Slavonic; only a very small fraction of them—perhaps a number in the low hundreds—were in some vernacular Slavic language. In Romania and Moldavia, however, the vernacular language was Romanian, which is not a Slavic language but a Romance one, and there the use of Church Slavonic gave place to that of Romanian. Even during the period before 1701, Old Cyrillic books in Romanian greatly outnumbered those in Church Slavonic: 64 of the 116 Old Cyrillic books printed in Romania or Moldavia were in Romanian, while 39 were in Church Slavonic and another 13 employed both languages.²¹ During the eighteenth century the fraction of the total output printed in Romanian noticeably increased. At the same time the situation in the Slavic lands was complicated through the introduction of a new Civil Cyrillic alphabet, which was promulgated in the early eighteenth century by the Russian emperor Peter the Great. During the eighteenth century more than 11,000 books were published in this new alphabet, almost all of them in one or another vernacular Slavic language (mostly Russian, but occasionally Ukrainian or Serbo-Croatian). Consequently, the use of Old Cyrillic became more and more limited to printing in Church Slavonic (or in Romanian) just when the vernacular Slavic languages were ousting Church Slavonic from all publications other than ‘church books’ in a very narrow sense of the term (mostly liturgical books). As a result, printing in Old Cyrillic sharply declined just when the printing industry in the eastern half of the Slavic world underwent its most dramatic period of growth, and it was printing in the Civil Cyrillic alphabet that increased in response to the new conditions of work for printers in that part of the world.²²

Indigenous printing in the Armenian alphabet was the last of the three to develop. It provides an instructive contrast to printing in the two Slavic alphabets. Although the total number of books printed in the Armenian alphabet during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seems to have been 163, and another 767 books appear to have been produced during the eighteenth century, the number of places where indigenous Armenian printing was carried on during those three centuries seems to have been about fourteen.²³ It was much less centralized than printing in either of the two Slavic alphabets during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. (See Table 7.)

Having presented these tables, I should now caution my readers that the numbers in them, however precise they may appear, are in fact only provisional, and are subject to change as new editions continue to be discovered. Indeed, they may never become definitive, for the surviving

²¹ Deletant 1975, 1982–83.

²² Moreover, during the nineteenth century the Romanians adopted the Latin alphabet in place of the Cyrillic for Romanian, thereby curtailing the use of Old Cyrillic even more.

²³ To the places listed in Table 7 add Echmiadzin, Madras, Calcutta, St Petersburg, Novyi Nakhichevan' and Astrakhan' for the eighteenth century (Ishkhanian 1964b).

Place	1501-1600	1601-1700
Venice	8	27
Pavia	*1	
Constantinople	6	13
Rome	*5	*29
Berlin	*2	
L'viv		3
Milan		*2
Paris		*4
New Julfa		8
Livorno		4
Amsterdam		31
Marseilles		17
Leipzig		*1
Padua		*2
Totals:	22	141

Note: Non-indigenous printing is marked with an asterisk (*). Davtyan *et al.* 1963 was not available at the time of writing.

Sources: Ishkhanian 1964a, 1964b, Nersessian 1980, Kévorkian 1986.

**Table 7. Distribution of Armenian Printing
(16th–18th Centuries)**

records of the presses which produced these books indicate a surprisingly large number of editions of which not a single copy seems to have survived; nor is it unreasonable to assume that there were still other editions not mentioned in the surviving records, which are far from complete when they survive at all!²⁴

²⁴ Zernova 1958, pp. 8–9, Isaievych 1970, pp. 9–10, Zapasko and Isaievych 1981–84, vol. 1, pp. 21–22. Some of my readers may not be aware that the records of one of the oldest and most productive of the Old Cyrillic presses, the Moscow Synodal Press (originally the *Pechatnyi dvor*) had preserved most of its old records and equipment from as far back as 1620, and had the potential to become a printing-history museum to rival the famous Plantin-Moretus Museum at Antwerp. See Mansvetov 1883, Nikolaevskii 1890–91. Whether any of the old equipment still exists I do not know, but I am encouraged to learn from two recent studies that the records, and also the huge library of copy texts and proof-reader’s texts, still exist and form several separate collections in the Central State Archive of Ancient Acts in Moscow (Luppov 1983, Siromakhova and Uspenskii 1987, cf. also Klepikov 1960, p. 132, and Pozdeeva in this issue of *Solanus*). Would it be out of place to express the hope that our Russian colleagues may someday use these materials to create a centre for the study of early printing at Moscow comparable to the Plantin-Moretus Museum?

Nevertheless, though the numbers in these tables can never be definitive, I am confident that they are near enough to the truth for our purposes.

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We now undertake to examine the differences between Latin-alphabet printing and indigenous printing in other alphabets. These differences will prove to be in part quantitative, in part qualitative, and the latter differences are to some extent consequences of the former.

Possibly the most significant quantitative difference is found in the total number of editions printed in the various alphabets during the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries. These numbers (and the corresponding numbers for the eighteenth century, when available) are shown in Table 8.

Period	Latin	Alphabet		Glagolitic	Armenian	Hebrew
		Cyrillic				
		Old	New			
1450–1500	30,000?	8		5		200
1501–1600	200,000	206		30	22	4,000
1601–1700	2,000,000?	1,084		7	141	?
1701–1800	even more!	3,636	11,065	16	767	?

Sources: The numbers for editions in the Glagolitic, Old Cyrillic and Armenian alphabets are from Tables 5, 6 and 7 above. The number of editions in the Armenian alphabet during the eighteenth century is from Ishkhanian 1964b, p. 246. Those for editions in the Latin and Hebrew alphabets derive from the text at footnotes 13 and 14 above. Those for editions in the Civil Cyrillic alphabet are from Bykova, Gurevich and Kozintseva 1955–72, Kaufman 1962–75, Mihailović 1964, Zapasko and Isaievych 1981–84, and Halenchanka 1986, pp. 190–192.

Table 8. Comparison of Cyrillic and Glagolitic Printing with Latin-Alphabet Printing: Number of Editions (15th–18th Centuries)

The number of editions printed even in Old Cyrillic—to say nothing of those printed in Glagolitic or in Armenian type—during the 350-year period (1491–1800) is noticeably less than the number of editions printed in the Latin alphabet just during the first half century after the invention of printing (1450–1500). Even taking both the Old Cyrillic and the new Civil Cyrillic alphabets together, no more than about 16,000 editions had been printed by the end of the eighteenth century, and the number of 30,000

editions printed is probably achieved sometime in the first half of the nineteenth century.²⁵

One might also compare the relative contemporaneity of the works chosen to be printed. Curt Bühler (1954), generalizing from a sample which may represent about one fourth of all the books printed in the Latin alphabet during the fifteenth century, found that about 72% of the authors (680 in all) whose works appeared in print during the fifteenth century lived in the fifteenth century, i.e. were more or less contemporary with the first printers. The next largest groups were as follows: authors of the fourteenth century—9%; of Classical Antiquity—7%; and of the thirteenth century—6%. Authors of all other centuries, including all Christian authors before the year 1200, formed no more than 6% of the total.²⁶ No comparable number of authors, nor any comparable degree of emphasis on contemporary authors, is found in Old Cyrillic printing from the fifteenth century through the eighteenth.²⁷

A third, truly significant quantitative difference between printing in the Cyrillic and the Latin alphabets during the period under examination is to be found in the degree of centralization. After an initial relatively decentralized period, Cyrillic printing became highly centralized during the seventeenth century, and even more so during the eighteenth: not quite one half of all books printed in Old Cyrillic from 1601 through 1800—excluding those printed in the Romanian language—were printed in one place (Moscow) and essentially in one printing office—the *Pechatnyi dvor* ('Printing Yard' or 'Printing House'), later renamed the *Sinodal'naia tipografiia* ('Synodal Press').²⁸ Latin-alphabet printing, in contrast, became increasingly decentralized during the same period. Even during the fifteenth century, Latin-alphabet printing offices were found in somewhat more than 200 places. In twelve of those places local printers were able to produce more than 1,000 editions each.²⁹ Yet the editions printed in these twelve places were only about two fifths of the total number of editions printed in the Latin alphabet

²⁵ The same point can be made in another, equally instructive, way. Zapasko and Isaievykh 1981–84 have inventoried all the books known to have been printed in the Ukraine through 1800, whether printed in the Cyrillic alphabet or the Latin. Although the numbers of these two kinds of books are similar in the sixteenth century (29 in Cyrillic, 23 in Latin) and in the seventeenth (387 in Cyrillic, 323 in Latin), they diverge greatly during the eighteenth century (973 in Cyrillic, 2,364 in Latin).

²⁶ Cf. also Steele 1903–07.

²⁷ Kiselev 1960, but cf. Demin 1985.

²⁸ Printing in the Cyrillic Civil alphabet, once it had begun in the early eighteenth century, soon became slightly less centralized than Old Cyrillic printing, but the contrast with Latin-alphabet printing still remained sharp. See especially the index of presses in Kaufman 1962–75, vol. 5, pp. 278–290.

²⁹ Strasbourg, Cologne, Rome, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Venice, Basel, Paris, Milan, Florence, Lyons and Leipzig (Teichl 1964).

during the fifteenth century. During the sixteenth and subsequent centuries, Latin-alphabet printing became even more decentralized, as the political and religious decentralization of Western Europe (and its colonies) increased.³⁰

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Qualitative differences are more easily expressed in prose than in numerical tables. One of the most important of these differences is that the rise of the printed book did not immediately lead to the decline of the manuscript book in the Slavic lands where the Cyrillic alphabet was in use. (We shall employ Riccardo Picchio's convenient Latin term 'Slavia Orthodoxa' to refer to these lands.³¹ It remains a matter of controversy whether Romania and Moldavia belong to Slavia Orthodoxa during the period under discussion here.) In Western Europe, the printed book largely replaced the manuscript book within a hundred years after the invention of printing, if not earlier, since printed books answering to the demands of almost all markets soon became available in much greater numbers and at much lower prices than manuscript books. As a consequence, the invention of printing created a kind of filter in Western Europe during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century: texts which got into print continued to circulate while texts that were not printed gradually dropped out of circulation and out of use. In Slavia Orthodoxa the products of the printing press met the demands only of relatively limited sectors of the whole existing market for books until well into the late eighteenth century or the early nineteenth. This was partly because the total number of editions printed in Old Cyrillic remained very much lower than the number of editions printed in the Latin alphabet, but even more because the range of texts put into print in Slavia Orthodoxa was very much narrower: the bulk of what was printed in Old Cyrillic was liturgical texts and the one basic textbook—the Primer (*Azbuka* or *Bukvar'*)—by means of which the student could be taught the art of reading these liturgical texts aloud.

These basic qualitative differences between printing in Slavia Orthodoxa and in Western Europe had as their consequence a whole series of secondary differences, which may be grouped under most of Professor Eisenstein's six principal heads of discussion: (1) dissemination, (2) amplification and reinforcement, (3) preservation, (4) standardization, (5) data collection, and (6) reorganization of texts.³² Space permits me to give only a few of them here

³⁰ By way of further comparison, the numbers of places where books were printed in the Hebrew alphabet may be cited: 27 in the fifteenth century, 81 more in the sixteenth, 101 others in the seventeenth and still another 125 in the eighteenth (Freimann 1946, pp. 82–83).

³¹ Picchio 1963.

³² Eisenstein 1979, pp. 70–129 (or 1983, pp. 41–90); I have altered here the order in which she treats these six questions.

as examples. Even so, consideration of these examples leads us not so much to reject Professor Eisenstein's theses as to refine them.

(1) Dissemination. One of Professor Eisenstein's most interesting theses is that the wider dissemination of books which followed upon the invention of printing made it easier for the reader to juxtapose more texts for consultation and comparison, and to juxtapose a greater variety of such texts. This in turn made contradictions between these texts more obvious, and the methods which were then developed to deal with these contradictions—empirical methods in natural science; methods of textual and literary criticism first in the study of belletristic texts, but eventually also in the study of religious texts—led to the rise of modern science, on the one hand, and the modern critical approach to religion, on the other.³³ This thesis needs to be more precisely stated if it is to account for the case of *Slavia Orthodoxa* as well as that of Western Europe. In *Slavia Orthodoxa* it was chiefly liturgical texts that were more widely disseminated after the introduction of printing, and the most visible result of the increasing juxtaposition of texts within this limitation may be the development in Muscovy of a series of increasingly bitter controversies on points of liturgical practice, leading not only to a schism within the Russian Orthodox Church, but also to many further schisms within the resulting body of Old Believers. Clearly the invention of printing can at best be a necessary condition, but not a sufficient one, for the distinctive evolution of the natural sciences in Western Europe, in contrast to Muscovite Russia, or for the distinctive characteristics which prevent one from drawing too close a parallel between the sixteenth-century schism between Protestants and Catholics in Western Europe and the seventeenth-century schism between the Orthodox and the Old Believers in Muscovite Russia.

(2) Amplification and Reinforcement. According to Professor Eisenstein, the development of printing served to reinforce linguistic and literary frontiers, and eventually to amplify the diversely oriented national 'memories' which took shape during the following centuries as different parts of the common Classical and Medieval heritage were taken up into the various national vernacular traditions.³⁴ In *Slavia Orthodoxa*, however, it was chiefly the several varieties of the liturgical language—Church Slavonic—and not the incipient national vernaculars, which were the main beneficiaries of amplification and reinforcement during the period with which we are concerned here.³⁵ It was principally printing in the Cyrillic Civil alphabet

³³ Eisenstein 1979, pp. 71–80, 333–338, 355–356, 466, 606–612 (partly also in 1983, pp. 42–50).

³⁴ Eisenstein 1979, pp. 126–128 (= 1983, pp. 88–90).

³⁵ Mathiesen 1972, pp. 64–74, 1984, pp. 62–64.

which led to the same results for the vernacular languages of Slavia Orthodoxa, and this alphabet was not created until the eighteenth century. (Note that the Cyrillic Civil alphabet was one of the first alphabets invented and promulgated specifically for use in printing.) Again we find that the invention of printing, though it may be a necessary condition, is not a sufficient one for the kind of historical development specified by Professor Eisenstein.

(3) Preservation. The invention of printing, according to Professor Eisenstein, made it easier to preserve any text or any idea, whether progressive or regressive, from destruction; likewise, a knowledge of the exotic and dying languages in which some texts were written could be secured forever.³⁶ The physical safety of a few copies of a valued text does not lead so surely to its preservation as does the publication of that text in quantity.³⁷ The potential of which Professor Eisenstein speaks here was realized in Slavia Orthodoxa only in the case of those relatively few, most highly valued texts which were put into print; it could not, of course, be realized in the case of texts which were not printed.

(4) Standardization. The invention of printing made it easier to standardize texts. One of Professor Eisenstein's theses is that this development afforded governments and churches more powerful means to secure conformity and uniformity, to control the populace. The invention of printing led to the printed blank form, which was important for the development of bureaucratic methods of administration. Such printed blank forms were in fact among the very first texts printed in Western Europe, and they continued to be printed throughout our period.³⁸ To the best of my knowledge, printed blank forms in Old Cyrillic were not produced by Slavia Orthodoxa during the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries, and relatively few products of the press—one thinks immediately of the *Lithuanian Statute* of 1588, the *Ulozhenie* (Code of Laws) of 1649 and the *Kormchaia kniga* (Nomocanon) of 1650–1653 as obvious isolated exceptions—had much to do with the day-to-day administration of church or state. In a more general sense, other texts were occasionally printed which were meant to influence or control the populace in specific ways, such as Patriarch Nikon's *Pouchenie o morovoi iazve* (Sermon on the Plague) of 1656. However, this use of the printing press clearly began much later, and constituted a much smaller part of the total

³⁶ This is surely true of Church Slavonic; for the earliest indigenous grammars and dictionaries of that language, and the use made of them by Josef Dobrovský (who wrote the first modern grammar of Church Slavonic), see Mathiesen 1972, ch. 5, 1981.

³⁷ Eisenstein 1979, pp. 113–126 (= 1983, pp. 78–88).

³⁸ Eisenstein 1979, pp. 59, 80–88, 118–119 (partly also in 1983, pp. 50–63, 82–83). For the earliest blank forms printed in Western Europe (in 1454–55), see Stillwell 1972, nos. 8–11.

printed output in Slavia Orthodoxa than in Western Europe. Nevertheless, it cannot truly be said that bureaucratic methods of administration were under-utilized by the Slavic Orthodox states and churches. In this respect, the invention of printing does not seem to be even a necessary condition, let alone a sufficient one, for the development of bureaucracy.

(5) Data Collection. Professor Eisenstein's theses in this area pertain so largely to the specific development of the natural sciences in Western Europe that they appear to be untestable by comparison with Slavia Orthodoxa during our period.³⁹

(6) Reorganization of Texts. According to Professor Eisenstein, differences in their production led to qualitative differences between printed and manuscript books, despite their superficial similarities; they resulted in a 'paradoxical combination ... of seeming continuity with radical change'.⁴⁰ Commercial pressures favoured innovations which were able to serve a reader's convenience: graduated typefaces, headlines, footnotes, cross-references, foliation and pagination, indices, tables of contents, title pages, and so on. Printing served as a necessary tool for sorting out the whole chaotic heritage of the past, creating in the process many new points of social conflict and controversy.⁴¹ Although Professor Eisenstein's general observation is correct concerning the utility of many innovations which took place in the development of the structure of the Western European book during the century after the invention of printing, her thesis that the invention of printing caused these innovations, or at least gave them their full importance, will not stand up to critical investigation, for not only is the actual history of these innovations in Western Europe more complicated and less connected with the rise of printing than Professor Eisenstein assumes, but also the same technology failed to give rise to the same innovations in the same order and at the same rate in Slavia Orthodoxa as in Western Europe.⁴²

Underlying the whole structure of concepts and theses which Professor Eisenstein has created is a very simple postulate which she states in several

³⁹ Eisenstein 1979, pp. 107–113 (or 1983, pp. 73–78).

⁴⁰ Eisenstein 1979, p. 51 (= 1983, p. 20).

⁴¹ Eisenstein 1979, pp. 51–52, 88–107 (or 1983, pp. 19–21, 63–72).

⁴² There are many ways in which much Old Cyrillic printing even as late as the early eighteenth century is more like Western European printing of the incunable period (the fifteenth century) than like Western European printing of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Even as late as the middle of the eighteenth century, virtually all Old-Cyrillic presses seem to have cut and cast their own fonts of Old Cyrillic type, and the title page did not become a normal part of most Old Cyrillic books printed at Moscow until that same century was well under way. Moreover, the details of composition and presswork remained in many cases faithful to techniques and technology which in Western Europe were largely confined to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

places, but does not particularly emphasize. Put most simply, this postulate states that the invention of printing placed printers 'temporarily in command of the nascent communications industry'; this industry in turn brought about 'something rather like a knowledge explosion' which began in the sixteenth century (and has continued into the present).⁴³ The foremost cause of the differences between the impact which the invention of printing had on the course of history in Western Europe and in Slavia Orthodoxa, put with equal simplicity, is that in Western Europe printers did in fact achieve such a position of command and kept it for centuries, whereas in Slavia Orthodoxa they did not do so. (The same is true, by the way, of printers in the Glagolitic and Armenian alphabets.) Whether this followed from differences in social and economic conditions sufficient to require this development in Western Europe while preventing it in Slavia Orthodoxa, or whether both courses of development lay open in each region and the printers themselves happened to take one path in Western Europe, the other in Slavia Orthodoxa, may remain controversial; but we do not need to settle this controversy in order to deepen our understanding of the roles which the new craft of printing played in both parts of the world. A simple comparison of the results suffices at present.



Thus we see how the history of indigenous printing in non-Latin alphabets (and especially in the Old Cyrillic alphabet) from the fifteenth century through the seventeenth provides an interesting and instructive contrast to the history of printing in the Latin alphabet during the same centuries. Even so brief an exploration of this contrast has allowed us to refine some of Professor Eisenstein's theses, and to deepen our understanding of some of the problems to which she has so provocatively directed our attention. I intend to return to these problems in the future, and I invite others to do the same, for I am persuaded that problems of this kind—problems which touch on the means of communication and communion between people and between peoples—are the problems which lie closest to the hidden processes that have shaped and continue to shape the unfolding history of mankind. The history of the book, whether manuscript or printed, is a complex of problems of just this kind. To have deepened our understanding of so basic a set of problems is an achievement well worth the considerable efforts it may cost.

⁴³ Eisenstein 1979, pp. 385, 72–73, 115–116.

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The Activity of the Moscow Printing House in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century

I. V. Pozdeeva

The first half of the seventeenth century in Russia was a transitional period, full of contradictions. During that time Moscow printing played a unique role in the history of the Russian and Slavonic lands: its Printing House (*Pechatnyi dvor*) issued more books in Cyrillic types than all other Slavonic presses combined. In recent decades the importance of the Printing House has been repeatedly noted and affirmed, both in general studies of the history of culture and of printing and in studies of individual editions.¹ However, the general concept of the historical role of seventeenth-century Russian printing, formulated in the 1950s by that outstanding authority on the European book, N. P. Kiselev, has not been re-examined. Kiselev set out his conclusions vividly, impressively and categorically: 'The State permitted book printing to be used for one purpose only—for the reproduction of texts necessary for the practice of religious ceremonies ... Before 1640 the printed book was solely a tool of religious practice; it could not even be called a tool of religious thought. The cultural and social significance of printing was reduced to the production of books for use in church services. And least of all—or not at all—was printing seen as a tool of enlightenment ... Until the time of Peter I ... printed books had no interrelation, no connection with contemporary life or with political events and ideas.'²

Kiselev's evaluation was so influential mainly because it fitted in ideally with the underestimation of the role of traditional culture which prevailed at the time when he was writing, and with the notion that in the seventeenth century the masses were almost totally illiterate; it was arrived at partly

¹ A. I. Rogov, 'Shkola i prosveshchenie', *Ocherki russkoi kul'tury XVIIv.*, 2 (1979), pp. 142–154; A. I. Rogov, 'Knigopechatanie', *Ocherki russkoi kul'tury XVIIv.*, 2 (1979), pp. 155–169; V. S. Rumiantseva, *Narodnoe antitserkovnoe dvizhenie v Rossii v XVIIv.* (Moscow, 1986); M. Grinberg, 'Moskovskie knigopechatniki v seredine XVII veka', *Almanakh bibliofila*, 15 (1983), pp. 142–159; S. P. Luppov, *Kniga v Rossii XVIIv.* (Leningrad, 1970); S. P. Luppov, *Chitateli izdaniĭ Moskovskoi tipografii v seredine XVIIv.* Publikatsiia dokumentov i issledovanie S. P. Luppova (Leningrad, 1983); *Literaturnyi sbornik XVII veka: Prolog*, Russkaia staropechatnaia literatura (XVI–pervaia chetvert' XVIIv.) (Moscow, 1978); *Tematika i stilistika predislovii i posleslovii*, Russkaia staropechatnaia literatura (XVI–pervaia chetvert' XVIIv.) (Moscow, 1981); A. Bulychiev, 'Pouchenie na "morovoe povetrie" patriarkha Iosifa', in *Literatura Drevnei Rusi: istochnikovedenie* (Leningrad, 1988), pp. 187–196; T. A. Oparina, 'Prosvetitel' i litovskii—neizvestnyi pamiatnik ideologicheskoi bor'by XVIIv.', in *Literatura i klassovaia bor'ba epokhi pozdnego feodalizma v Rossii* (Novosibirsk, 1987), pp. 43–57.

² N. P. Kiselev, 'O moskovskom knigopechatanii XVIIv.', *Kniga*, 2 (1960), pp. 123–186 (pp. 123–126).

because its author made too direct a comparison with the role of printing in Western Europe and because he failed to understand that Russian seventeenth-century book culture was made up of two actively developing and interrelated forms—the manuscript and the printed book.

The aim of my research is to re-examine the historical role of Moscow seventeenth-century printing in the light of present-day theoretical and factual knowledge. In order to do this, it is necessary to address the question which was resolved so simply by Kiselev in his time—What was the real social function of books issued by the Moscow Printing House? That is, to establish the following: firstly, what books were published and in what quantities; secondly, how these books were used; thirdly, into whose hands they fell when they left the presses. Material which helps to answer these questions is to be found in the archive of the Printing Office (*Prikaz pechatnykh del*)—the well-known Collection no. 1182 of the Central State Archive of Ancient Documents (TsGADA) in Moscow. My research (of which I present here only the most general conclusions) is based on the study and statistical analysis of data relating to the activity of the Moscow Printing House from this archive and the examination of individual copies of the Printing House's imprints. I cover the period from 1615, when the Printing House renewed its activity after the Time of Troubles, to 1652,³ when it passed, effectively, into the hands of the Patriarch Nikon. This time span is not an arbitrary one; it seems to me that the years 1615–1652 form a natural unit in the history of Moscow printing.⁴ It was towards the end of this period that tendencies which had begun to emerge in the 1620s and 1630s reached their fullest development; many ideas which had arisen in those years came to fruition in the 1640s, when early Moscow printing reached its apogee. Although the principal task which Nikon set the Printing House was the revision and standardization of liturgical texts (which came to be known as the 'correcting of books' of the mid-seventeenth century), even this period (1652–1659) did not represent a departure from the established repertoire of the printing house or from the basic tendencies of its publishing policy.

In conducting my research, it was necessary, firstly and most importantly, to draw up as full a list as possible of the editions published between 1615 and 1652. In his calculations Kiselev relied on Zernova's catalogue,⁵ which contained descriptions only of those editions of which copies were known at

³ Work at the Publishing House resumed in 1614, but the first book, a *Psaltir*, appeared on 6 January 1615. The last book in the publication list covered in this article was the *Poucheniia Efrema Sirina i avvy Dorofeia*. It appeared after Nikon had become patriarch, on 11 September 1652, but its printing had been begun before his time.

⁴ This view is supported by detailed analysis of numbers and types of publication issued by the Printing House.

⁵ A. S. Zernova, *Knigi kirillovskoi pechati, izdannye v Moskve v XVI–XVII vv.: svodnyi katalog* (Moscow, 1958), henceforth referred to as Zernova.

the time. Data from the archive has enabled us to identify twenty-five editions not in Zernova;⁶ two previously unknown and precisely dated editions⁷ have been found by archeographers;⁸ a printed reference has been found to another one.⁹ Thus we have been able to draw up a list of 223 editions produced by the Moscow Printing House between 1615 and 1652, that is, 12.5% more than were known before. (Imprints of the independent printer V. F. Burtsov who also operated in the Printing House have not been included.)

Secondly, it was necessary to decide on the principles according to which publications would be grouped. The principle adopted by Kiselev, who categorized the majority of printed books as 'tools of religious practice' and divided books into 'church' and 'secular', now seems totally inadequate. Kiselev divided Moscow seventeenth-century printed books into *liturgical* (he spoke of them as *kul'tovye*), *religious books intended for reading* and *books of non-religious content*. In his view, 84.89% were purely liturgical, 13.66% were religious books for reading, and 1.45% non-religious.¹⁰

We decided to adopt the principle which is used in source study to determine the type of source,¹¹ i.e. to divide various types of books according to the use which was made of them. However, in making this division it is crucial to remember that, at a time when the syncretism of medieval knowledge prevailed, there could be no 'pure' types of book either in form, content or function. Almost all traditional types of book were syncretic and multi-functional and so can be divided into categories only according to their basic or, more often, their primary function. From that starting point we may divide the publications of the Printing House into the following categories.

⁶ New archival data on 204 publications from between 1615 and 1652 are to be found in I. V. Pozdeeva, *Novye materialy dlia opisaniia izdaniia Moskovskogo pechatnogo dvora. Pervaia polovina XVIIv.*, V pomoshch' sostaviteliu Svodnogo kataloga staropechatnykh izdaniia kirillovskogo i glagolicheskogo shriftov: metodicheskie rekomendatsii (Moscow, 1986), henceforth referred to as Pozdeeva.

⁷ About twenty items not in Zernova which have been found on archeographical expeditions, in private collections or in libraries could not be used in this research, since they have no imprint and cannot be dated precisely.

⁸ See A. Kh. Gorfunkel', *Katalog knig kirillovskoi pechatii 16–17 vekov* (Leningrad, 1970), no. 72; I. V. Pozdeeva, I. D. Kashkarova and M. M. Liberman, *Katalog knig kirillovskoi pechatii XV–XVIIvv. Nauchnoi biblioteki Moskovskogo universiteta* (Moscow, 1980), no. 681.

⁹ The *Chasovnik* dated 8 October 1615 is mentioned in the afterword of the Vilna *Chasovnik* of 1776. See I. Karataev, *Opisanie slaviano-russkikh knig, napechatannykh kirillovskimi bukvami ...* (St Petersburg, 1883), no. 218; I. V. Pozdeeva and A. N. Troitskii, *Russkaia rukopisnaia i staropechatnaia kniga v lichnykh sobraniakh Moskvy i Podmoskov'ia: katalog vystavki* (Moscow, 1983), nos. 30, 89.

¹⁰ Kiselev (note 2), pp. 129–135.

¹¹ A. A. Kurnosov, 'K voprosu o prirode vidov istochnikov', in *Istochnikovedenie otechestvennoi istorii*, 1976 (Moscow, 1977), pp. 5–25.

Liturgical books

By liturgical books, we mean those types of book which were used mainly for public or private worship. These were the *Sluzhebnik*, *Trebnik*,¹² *Sluzhebnye minei*, *Triod'*, *Oktoikh*, *Shestodnev*, *Trefologion*, *Chinovniki*, *Otdel'nye chiny*, *Sluzhby*, *Kanony*. Of the 233 books printed between 1615 and 1652, ninety-eight fall into this category, that is, 43.9% of the output of the Printing House. Numerically, this is half the percentage calculated by Kiselev. However, their significance in the ideological and political life of society was infinitely greater than he thought; their social functions embrace virtually all those aspects of spiritual life which formed the concept of official ideology in medieval Russian society—religious, political, historical-cognitive, aesthetic-artistic and ethical. In the seventeenth century the church was the only place where a message was sounded which was intended for the whole mass of the people, which explained the everyday events and activities of man and society; it was a forum for open official propaganda, expressed in contemporary language. Those addresses, sermons, epistles and even important works such as the chronicles, the *Velikie Minei* (the Great Reading Menaion), the *Stepennaia kniga* (Book of Degrees), which did not form part of liturgical and official readings, never reached the majority of Russian people. But the ideas in these works were taken by Church and State and communicated as part of liturgical and edifying texts.

Together with and against the background of the basic ideas of Orthodox dogma which permeated every liturgical text, and which included social and political tenets of crucial importance to the State in the rebellious seventeenth century, a whole complex of topical historical-patriotic and historical-political themes were elaborated and constantly repeated in these texts. These were: the idea of the Russian land as being united and chosen by God; Rus' as the inheritor of Byzantium; its exceptional role in the history of Christianity; the worldwide importance, supremacy and historical role of Moscow the Third Rome; the idea of autocratic power, sanctified by historical and religious authority; and, finally, the divine right to succession of the Romanov dynasty. This is amply illustrated in the service which became the focal point of all these ideas, *Polozhenie rizy Gospodnei* (The Deposition of the Robe of the

¹² A special case is the *Inocheskii trebnik* (Prayer Book for Monks), published 20 July 1639, in which over thirty works (nearly 300 of the total 552 leaves) are intended for reading, study of sermons and edifying homilies, and polemics with those of other faiths. It also includes the most important work of church law, the *Nomokanon*, and the 'Sobornoe izlozhenie' of the Patriarch Filaret adopted in December 1620. This edition is grouped with books that were intended for both reading and worship, although it might also be put in the category of 'books with various functions'. See A. S. Demin, *Pisatel' i obshchestvo v Rossii XVI-XVII* (Moscow, 1985), pp. 303–310. The same source (pp. 310–311) publishes the non-liturgical content of the second, similar edition, the *Trebnik mirskii* (Prayer Book for Lay People), of 20 July 1639. The listing of their contents was done by A. M. Mirzoian.

Lord), written and printed in Moscow in 1625.¹³ In the short text of this service, Moscow is mentioned seven times, as 'Thy city, O Lord', 'the city which honours Thee', 'the Imperial city', 'the New Zion', 'the Heavenly Mansion', 'the most glorious and famous of cities, chosen of God'. The theme of Russia's struggles against the world and the worldwide significance of these struggles which is consistently argued in liturgical texts was taken up by Russian literature in the new works which, in the view of literary historians, 'began to develop vigorously in the 1630s'.¹⁴ It is precisely the liturgical texts which permit us to trace the actualization not only of the political but also of the moral-aesthetic teaching of Orthodoxy, the practice of which, throughout the ages, furthered the development and dissemination of what became, in effect, national models of sanctity. In their turn, these models exerted a crucial influence on a number of aspects of the life of the people, aspects that today are associated with the national character. One example is the service in honour of the Holy Fools, which was so popular in Rus'. Holy Fools, blessed 'for the sake of Christ', were renowned for their boundless forbearance, for their renunciation of everything earthly, often of their own personalities.¹⁵

We must also not forget the very special effect that the liturgy had on people. The effect which the ceremonial of worship produced on the congregation was made up of words, music, architecture, painting, light and smell combined. No less important was the participation of everyone in the service, their position within it and not outside it, which made for a deeply emotional and personal involvement in what was going on, and a subconscious absorption of at least part of the ideas and images—and not only the ideas and images of Christianity, but also the social and political ideas which were expounded in the liturgy. It is evident that not only did the State use the authority and organization of the Church to propagandize social and political ideas, but that the Church, imbuing the liturgy with topical questions, saw here fertile soil for the dissemination and reinforcement of Christian dogma in the Russian people.

The liturgical book became, for the majority of believers, not only a vehicle for transmitting the text of the service, but a sacred object in itself. In the last quarter of the century, liturgical books became the object of particular veneration by Old Believers, representing for them the exclusive repository of Christian truth.

¹³ The author of this service was the Metropolitan Kiprian. See F. G. Spasskii, *Russkoe liturgicheskoe tvorchestvo (po sovremennym mineiam)* (Paris, 1951), pp. 65–66.

¹⁴ A. S. Demin, 'Pervoe izdanie Prologa i kul'turnye potrebnosti russkogo obshchestva 1630–1640-kh godov', in *Literaturnyi sbornik XVII veka: Prolog* (Moscow, 1978), p. 73.

¹⁵ For more detail, see Pozdeeva, *Aktualizatsiia liturgicheskogo teksta* (at press).

Books used for instruction

In the output of the Printing House, second place, in terms of numbers published, falls to books used for instruction. Language instruction always began with mastering the *Azbuka* (Alphabet Book). It is certain that, even before Vasilii Burtsov left to found his own independent press, where he completed on 20 August 1634 the printing of what is considered to be the first Moscow edition of the *Azbuka*,¹⁶ there had already been two editions (Pozdeeva, nos. 67, 68) printed at the Moscow Printing House. In the archive there is also mention of five editions printed there between 1634 and 1652. Undoubtedly, there were more than that, but, since *Azbuki* were slim small-format volumes, printed on leftover pieces of paper, and the whole print-run was often bought up by one individual, information about them has, as a rule, not survived. Not a single copy from these first two editions has survived; they were, quite literally, 'read to pieces'. However, we are able to establish, from information in the archive, that there were two types of *Azbuka*, a brief version and a more extensive one. The latter was referred to by its publishers as the *Azbuka* 'with supplement'; today it is often called a *Bukvar* ' (Primer).¹⁷

Burtsov calls the *Azbuka* an 'elementary' book 'for learning to read', produced 'by means of printing' by order of the Tsar to be given to 'small children that they should learn and know the Holy Scripture'. The purpose of printing was to 'spread' *Azbuki* 'like blessed seed' 'over all ... the great land of Rus'', so that 'little children might study and gain understanding and progress up the staircase from the lowest to the highest step'.¹⁸

For everyone who learned to read and write in seventeenth-century Russia—peasant and royal child alike—the steps of learning, after the *Azbuka*, were the two most ancient Slavonic liturgical texts—the *Chasovnik* (Book of Hours) and the *Psaltir* ' (Psalter). This can be accounted for by the traditions of a culture in which education (*obuchenie*) and upbringing (*vospitanie*) were inseparable and where the aim was not the creation of something new but rather the 'renewal of the old'. The method for learning the Church Slavonic

¹⁶ There is no need to discuss the contents of the *Azbuka*; this topic has been covered extensively elsewhere. See, for example, E. A. Nemirovskii, 'Azbuka 1573 g.', *Problemy shkol'nogo uchebnika*, 2 (1974), pp. 11–15; E. A. Nemirovskii, 'Azbuka 1574 g.', same source, pp. 5–11; F. I. Setin, 'Azbuka Burtsova', *Russkii iazyk v natsional'noi shkole*, 2 (1976), pp. 87–91.

¹⁷ For example, on 1 June 1655 the Printing House issued 2400 copies of the *Azbuka*, each 'costing one *den'ga* and a quarter-copeck'. Material in the archive refers to all previous editions of this book as the 'Azbuka', and gives the price of all of them as approximately the same (Central State Archive of Ancient Acts, *fond* 1182, I, no. 57, ff. 30–31). On 5 August 1657 a decree was issued for the publication of an 'Azbuka s pribavkoi' (*Azbuka* with supplement). 1200 copies of this were priced at 8 *den'gi* (ff. 354–7). It is evident that it is this edition (dated 1657, Zernova, no. 275) that has survived and which is the extended *Azbuka*, or *Bukvar* '.

¹⁸ *Azbuka* or *Bukvar* ', printed by V. F. Burtsov, Moscow, 20 August 1634, f. 89.

language was 'repeated reading of set texts',¹⁹ which served as models of language, of Christian dogma and of social and moral behaviour. This principle dictated the choice of texts—the *Chasovnik*, the *Psaltir'* (and later the *Kanonnik*).

The *Chasovnik* contains services to be repeated daily at specified times, and within it are to be found the most fundamental texts, selected and refined throughout the ages for recitation and memorization. The educational function of the book is invariably underlined in its colophon. For example, the afterword of the first Kiev edition of 1617 states that it is intended for schools both in Kiev and in other towns, while the so-called 'broad-type' Moscow edition of 1640 (Zernova 150) (Fig. 1) notes that the book is intended as the 'basis for every rule ..., and for every prayerful request, and for elementary education'.²⁰

The next book in the educational process was the *Psaltir'*. The beauty of its poetry and the richness of its imagery made it the perfect vehicle for propagating Christian belief. Seventeenth-century Moscow editions of the Psalter varied in their compilation, and often opened with words in praise of the book itself. Printed psalters included a lengthy passage from St Basil the Great: 'There is no other book which glorifies God as does the Psalter ... The waters of the sea do not run dry, neither does the flow of the rivers and streams. So shall the song from the Psalter never run out ... Not a single day should pass without singing from the Psalter'²¹ A quotation taken from St John Chrysostom is even more categorical: 'And the sun will no more cease in its course than the Psalter be abandoned'²²

Thus, the reasons which occasioned the choice of *Chasovnik* and *Psaltir'* as the basic books for elementary education and which caused them to keep this function right up to the eighteenth century (and in Old Believer communities up to the present day) are self-evident.²³

The Moscow Printing House devoted particular attention to these two books, and its renewed activity in 1615 began with their publication. Unlike many historians of the book, their publishers were perfectly aware of the functions of the *Chasovnik* and the *Psaltir'*. In Printing House documents, at least from the 1622 edition onwards, the small or personal Psalter, as opposed to the extended (liturgical) Psalter, is referred to as the instructional

¹⁹ N. B. Mechkovskaia, *Rannie vostochnoslavianskie grammatiki* (Minsk, 1984), f. 29.

²⁰ *Chasovnik*. Moscow, Printing House, 21 May 1640, f. 303.

²¹ *Psaltir'*. Moscow, Printing House, 5 December 1680, ff. 12–13v.

²² *Psaltir'* (note 21), f. 14.

²³ The use of these books over the centuries for teaching and learning has in great part determined, and also accounts for the preservation and continuity of, traditional Old Believer culture.



НАЧАЮЧАГОМЪ

БЛГБНШЪ ІЕРІЮ НМЫЪ ГЛѢМХ. АМІНН.
 ЦРІЮ НБНЫН. ТРТОЕ. ПРЕТѢА ТРЦЕ
 ПОМІЛШН НАІХ. ѠЧЕ НАШХ. ГИ ПО
 МІЛШНЪ КІ. СЛАКА ІННЪК. ПРІНДѢТЕ
 ПОКЛОНИМІАЪ Г. ТАЖЕ. ПЛОМХЪ СІ.

УСЛЫШН ГИ ПРАКДЪ МОЮ С КОНЕ
 УМН МОЛЕНІЕ МОЕ. КИШН МЛТКЪ
 МОЮ С НЕКШОУСТНАХЪ ЛЫТНКА. Ѡ
 СЛНЦА ЧКОЕГО ІУДКА МОА НЗЫ
 ДЕТХ С ОЧН МОИ ДЛБНДНТЕ ПРАКО
 ТЫ. ПІКШІНАХЪ ЕИИ ІРЦЕ МОЕ С

2
 КІ

(*uchebnaia*) *Psaltir'*.²⁴ This word is rarely attached to the *Chasovnik*, but presumably only because its function as a book for learning to read was so well-known as to render it unnecessary.

A special event in the history of Russian textbooks was the publication of the *Chasovnik* in 1643 and the *Uchebnaia psaltir'* in 1645, marking the first appearance of the text 'Instructions to teachers on how they should teach reading and writing to children, and to children on how they should learn ...', which gave detailed instructions not only about what should be taught but also about how to teach. The 'Instructions' prescribe a sequence of study: 'it is fitting for small children to be taught firstly the letters, that is to say, the alphabet, and then the Psalter and the Book of Hours'. If this method is followed correctly, then 'the pupil will have a strength in his language, in thought—reason, and in the use of words—purity'.

In the first half of the seventeenth century, the Moscow Printing House issued 63 editions of these three books: the *Azbuka* was published five times,²⁵ the *Chasovnik* 34 times, and the *Psaltir'* 24 times. There were five editions of the *Kanonnik* (also used for teaching to read and write) and one edition of the *Malyi Katikhizis* (Short Catechism), entitled *Sobranie kratkiiia ob artikulakh very*, which was completed on 20 January 1649 (Zernova, no. 215, Pozdeeva, no. 173). This was, as stated in its afterword, intended 'most of all for children who are learning [to read]'. In 1647 and 1648 the Moscow Printing House issued two textbooks intended for those who were already literate, the first for the study of the art of war—the *Uchenie i khitrost' ratnogo stroeniia pekhotnykh liudei* (a translation of von Wallhausen's *Kriegskunst zu Fuss* of 1615), and the second for the study of grammar—Meletii Smotritskii's *Grammatika* (Fig. 2). In order to understand the significance of this work, it is necessary to remember that in medieval consciousness an understanding of language was a prerequisite for the understanding of holy texts. In the knowledge of grammar, 'people sought the path to the mysteries of earth and Heaven, the key to the gates of true holiness'.²⁶ Smotritskii's *Grammatika*, first published in Ev'e (Vevis), now in Lithuania, in 1619, signalled a fundamentally new stage in the development of an analytical approach to the teaching of the language. Smotritskii 'gave to the schools of the seventeenth

²⁴ The *Psaltir' sledovannaia* or *Psaltir' s vossledovaniem* (Extended Psalter) was long considered a book for general elementary education, because of the letter of the Novgorod Archbishop Gennadii to the Metropolitan Simon. But Gennadii's letter is talking about special schools for preparation of clerics and priests. For them, writes Gennadii, 'it is essential that in their schools they should master the *Azbuka* ... and the opening words in each section [*podtitel'nye slova*] of the extended Psalter. If they learn this, then they will be able to ... intone canons and canticles and read all manner of books' (State Historical Museum, Eparchial Collection, no. 416, ff. 10–14).

²⁵ Pozdeeva (note 6), nos. 67, 68, 148, 174, 192.

²⁶ Mechkovskaia (note 19), p. 22.



Съ егомъ починаемъ, за тѣ въ предисловіи
вписавъ, къ трудоуднѣ тшатиа хотѣши
къ разуму оученіа грамматическаго, и
прочихъ, ꙗже хрѣтианства законъ шде
житъ не самъ собою; но вниоу вземъ ш
многихъ стѣхъ оцѣ жити, ꙗко и вѣ
ахоноснѣи стѣи оцѣи мнози, грамматикъ,
и прочихъ книгъ философскаго оученіа,
трудоуднѣ во оученіи оупражняхуся, и
штрапы встраноу, и ш града во гра, путѣ
шестѣ оученіа ради творяху. и цѣль огра
дѣмъ и намъ штавниа некаѣи, ꙗкоже



на предѣи писаніе шентъ,
амъ оубо гдѣ рече, шнители нашѣ
и бгъ, ꙗко и ѡваниъ еуалиетъ бен
дѣтельствѣтъ, и шпѣтанте писѣ
нѣа, ꙗко и мы мнѣи бнихъ имѣти
жнѣотъ вѣтнѣи. Кѣмоу же оубо

Свѣдѣніе о книгѣ Грамматика

century an authoritative and fundamental reference work',²⁷ in codifying the East Slavonic recension of Church Slavonic. The publishers gave the book a lengthy historical/philosophical foreword and afterword. The foreword included a 'Hymn to Grammar', which is variously described as 'the nourisher of infants', 'the nursemaid of children', 'the tutor of adolescents'.²⁸

Thus, in the period under review, the Moscow Printing House issued seventy-one editions of seven types of books used for various levels of study. These books answered a wide range of social needs, including the training of tens of thousands of people needed to administer the country, to enhance its international prestige and its military strength and to develop its economy. On the other hand, the books also 'strengthened the foundations of the Church Slavonic language and the ... social and religious foundations which it symbolized'.²⁹ Books used for instruction made up 31.8% of books issued by the Moscow Printing House between 1615 and 1652.

Books of dual purpose (used for both reading and worship)

This group consists of books used both in church services and for private reading. Of these, the two most important were the *Evangelie* (Gospels) (Fig. 3) and *Apostol* (Acts and Epistles). In the period under review the Moscow Printing House issued nine editions of the *Evangelie* and eight of the *Apostol*. Also in this group were two editions (although the first was not completed) of the most important literary compilation of Ancient Rus', the *Prolog* (Synaxarion), which was used in church services and was also one of the most popular books for reading. The *Prolog* in its printed and manuscript forms not only acquainted the Russian reader with hundreds of works of Byzantine and Slavonic literature, but also (contrary to Kiselev's opinion that Moscow printed books of this time included no original Russian works) dozens of tales about the lives of Russian princes, of famous political and cultural figures, and about important events in Russian history. The *Prolog* glorifies 'Great Russia as the Third Rome', 'the ever-famous city of Moscow' and its monks. Of all the books of this time the printed *Prolog* was the most popular, politically the most tendentious, and the most important for the spreading of official ideology. It has been observed that in the printed editions of the *Prolog* 'the phenomena of Russian life were described as if they were universal phenomena' and episodes in Muscovy's external struggles were portrayed as being

²⁷ V. V. Nimchuk, 'Grammatika M. Smotritskogo—perlina davn'ogo movoznatstva', in M. Smotritskii, *Grammatika* (facsimile) (Kiev, 1979), p. 110.

²⁸ Meletii Smotritskii, *Grammatika*. Moscow, Printing House, 2 February 1648, ff. 40–44.

²⁹ Mechkovskaia (note 19), p. 14. Actually, there were significantly more publications for the teaching of reading and writing. In recent years over a dozen previously unknown editions of the *Chasovnik* and *Uchebnaia psaltir'* have been discovered, printed in Moscow in the first half of the seventeenth century, but lacking their imprint information and dated approximately. See, for example, Pozdeeva and Troitskii (note 9), nos. 50, 51.



СВЯТЫЙ ЕВАНГЕЛИЙ

ЗАЧАЛА КЪ ЕМУ ЖДА ЕУАЛІЮ ПРАЗ
ДНИЦАМЪ ГАДЬКИМЪ И БГОРОДН
ЧНЫМЪ И НЗБРАННЫМЪ ШТЫМЪ

МЦЪ СЕПТЕВРІИ ИМАТЬ ДНИ
А ДНІ ИМАТЬ ЧАСОВЪ БІ АНО
ЩЬ БІ НАЧАТОКЪ НОВОМУ
ЛѢТУ И ПАМЯТЬ ПРЕПОДОБНАГО
ОЦА НАШЕГО СІМЕСНА СТОЛПНИКА

УІІ

Fig. 3 Evangelie, 1648 (original page size 218 × 175mm), New York Public Library copy

of primary world importance.³⁰ The same historian quite rightly regards the publication of the *Prolog* in 1641 and 1642–43 as the response of Moscow publishers to ‘public interest in historical and cultural encyclopaedic and narrative reference works, giving information about people and phenomena of world importance’.³¹

In this group I have also included books which contained texts both of church services and of lives of saints. Examples of these are works devoted to the most revered saints of Russia and to those saints which were the protectors of the House of Romanov (Nicholas the Wonderworker—three editions, Sergei and Nikon of Radonezh—one edition, Savva Storozhevskii—two editions). Also included are the 1639 editions of the *Trebnik* (Prayer Book)—one for monks and one for lay people—which included a significant number of non-liturgical texts. During this period there is evidence of a radically new, almost a ‘scholarly’³² approach to publishing which is exemplified by the *Sluzhba i zhitie Nikolaia Chudotvortsia* (The Service and Life of St Nicholas the Wonderworker), printed between 5 December 1640 and 20 April 1641. This book is a blend of the hagiographical, liturgical, theological, historical and polemical thought of the time. It not only gathers together all the well-known works about Nicholas, who was the most popular saint of Rus’, but also many manuscript versions (‘as many as were found’) of his life. Intended for ‘enlightened fathers and brothers but also for the simple man’,³³ it contains the political ideas described above³⁴ and has a sharply anti-heretical thrust. The linguistic and literary abilities of its editor are shown in the preface to the 1643 edition, which is in the form of a hymn (but can also be almost considered as a reference work) to grammatical ‘wisdom’, ‘the knowledge of which is difficult but intelligible, and the meaning of which is instructive to our hearts. Without it, whoever thinks he understands, understands nothing’ (1643 edition, f. 246). During these years the Moscow Printing House issued a total of twenty-eight editions (33,315 copies) of books which were used both in church services and for reading outside the church, 12.6% of its output.

Books intended for reading

Among the publications of these years a special place is occupied by sixteen books intended for reading, which form 7.2% of the Printing House’s output.

³⁰ Demin (note 14), p. 70. This problem is explored in detail in the articles contained in this edition.

³¹ Demin (note 14), p. 68.

³² Demin (note 14), p. 63.

³³ Cited from the 1643 edition, f. 244 (henceforth only the publication year and folio number will be given).

³⁴ An example from the Acatistis to St Nicholas: ‘Rejoice, may our most just tsar have strength and his reign hold the unconquerable sceptre of power’ (1640, f. 142v.).

Their wide cultural, ideological and political significance cannot and never has been denied. However, their influence on Russian literature and culture and their close links with the ideology and politics of the time are topics which have only begun to be studied in very recent times. Each of these works deserves a monograph to itself; for the moment, suffice it to say that what we are talking about are the most popular Russian compilations, the contents of which remained unchanged from edition to edition.³⁵ They are:

- Uchitel'noe evangelie* (Instructional Gospels);
- The *Margarit* of St John Chrysostom;
- The *Poucheniia* (Sermons) of Ephraim the Syrian;
- Sbornik o pochitanii ikon* (Miscellany about the Veneration of Icons), otherwise known as the *Mnogoslozhnyi svitok*;
- Sbornik pouchenii patriarkha Iosifa* (Collection of Sermons of the Patriarch Joseph);
- Kirillova kniga* (The Book of Cyril);
- Kniga o vere* (The Book of the Faith);
- Lestvitsa* (The Heavenly Ladder) of St John Climacus;
- Sbornik iz 71 slova* (Collection of 71 Homilies), otherwise known as the *Sobornik*;
- Tolkovoe evangelie* (Gospels with Commentaries) of Theophylact of Bulgaria.

Of this group the *Uchitel'noe evangelie* was published most frequently, first on 4 May 1629 (Zernova, no. 73, Pozdeeva, no. 42). It was a traditional type of collection, containing sermons for all the Sundays of the lunar year, connected with the themes for weekly readings from the Gospels. In the period under review it was republished twice³⁶—on 17 March 1633 (Zernova, no. 95, Pozdeeva, no. 59) and on 12 June 1652 (Zernova, no. 240, Pozdeeva, no. 204). It contains sermons on the most important dogmatic, historical-religious, social and moral tenets of Orthodoxy and its compilation is traditionally associated with Constantine of Bulgaria, a pupil of Methodius, the apostle of the Slavs. These publications are supplemented by the *Evangelie tolkovoe* of Theophylact of Bulgaria, issued on 1 April 1649 (Zernova, no. 217, Pozdeeva, no. 175). With its publication the task of the first half of the seventeenth century—to provide for Russian and other Slavonic readers texts which would enable them to understand the most important book of Christian writing, the Gospels—was accomplished.³⁷ These four editions (4650 copies

³⁵ Only the *Bol'shoi katekhizis* of Lavrentii Zizanii Tustanovskii does not fit this definition (*Besedoslovie*, approx. 29 January 1627).

³⁶ Not counting Burtsov's edition of 8 September 1639.

³⁷ The next Moscow edition of the *Uchitel'noe Evangelie* was not issued until ten years later, and the *Tolkovoe Evangelie* forty-eight years later (Zernova, nos. 298, 486).

in all) make up more than a third in volume (2702 folio leaves) of the most-read books of the period.

Almost all the remaining books in this group came out in the 1640s.³⁸ In 1641 the *Margarit* was published in an edition of 1200 copies (1 September, Zernova, no. 157, Pozdeeva, no. 105). It was a folio edition of 344 leaves and was the fullest compilation of known texts of St John Chrysostom, as well as including all the most important material relating to his life and writings.³⁹ Scholars have quite rightly drawn attention⁴⁰ to five homilies included in the 1641 Moscow edition which use the parable of Lazarus and Dives to discuss Christian social and moral teachings, which praise the virtues of love of poverty and charity and denounce the 'savagery' and 'inhumanity' of the rich—a theme which was especially popular in the years of endless uprisings in the rebellious seventeenth century.⁴¹

In 1642, 1644 and 1648 the Printing House published, in editions of 1200 copies, three polemical anti-heretical collections intended for use in the struggle against 'those of other faiths', and which provided a theoretical basis for the idea of Moscow's exclusive significance as the guardian of Orthodoxy. They were the *Sbornik o pochitanii ikon v 12 slovakh* (26 August 1642, Zernova, no. 161, Pozdeeva, no. 111), the *Kirillova kniga* (21 April 1644, a folio edition of 588 leaves printed in 1200 copies, Zernova, no. 169, Pozdeeva, no. 120), and the *Kniga o vere edinnoi i istinnoi pravoslavnoi, i o sviatoi tserkvi vostochnoi* (8 May 1648, 290 leaves, 1200 copies, Zernova, no. 209, Pozdeeva, no. 167). 'If, as the Apostle said, there is but one God and but one Faith, then all other faiths are not faiths, but heresy and dissension', proclaims the preface of the *Kniga o vere*.⁴² These three editions were intended for the protection of all those Orthodox countries threatened by Christian ideas which were encroaching from the West—Catholic, Uniate, Protestant—or by Russian heretical teachings.⁴³ The basis of the *Sbornik o pochitanii ikon*, which brings together all the fundamental Byzantine and Slavonic works on the veneration

³⁸ The *Bol'shoi katekhizis* of Lavrentii Zizanii (Zernova, no. 763) was evidently issued only in a few copies and therefore did not play a significant role in the culture of the time. See 'Prenie litovskogo protopopa Lavrentiia Zizaniia s igumenom Ilieiu i spravshchikom Grigoriem po povodu ispravleniia sostavlennogo Lavrentiem Katekhizisa', *Letopisi russkoi literatury i drevnostei*, published by N. Tikhonravov, 2, bk. 4 (Moscow, 1859), pp. 80–100.

³⁹ The edition included more works connected with the name of that author than manuscript collections and the *Margarit* published in Ostrog in 1595. Ia. D. Isaevich, 'Russko-ukrainskie sviazi v oblasti knigopечатaniia v kontse XVI–pervoi polovine XVII veka', in *Kniga v Rossii do serediny XIXv.* (Leningrad, 1978), pp. 164–165; Demin (note 12), p. 111.

⁴⁰ See, for example, A. N. Robinson, *Bor'ba idei v russkoi literature XVIIv.* (Moscow, 1974), pp. 250–253.

⁴¹ E. V. Chistiakova, *Gorodskie vosstaniia v pervoi polovine XVIIv. (30–40-e gody)* (Voronezh, 1970).

⁴² Moscow, Printing House, 8 May 1648, f. 1–IV.

⁴³ See *Narodnoe antitserkovnoe dvizhenie v Rossii XVIIv.: dokumenty Prikaza tainykh del o raskol'nikakh, 1665–1667*, compiled by V. S. Rumiantseva (Moscow, 1986).

of icons, is a work by Zinovii Otenskii who, in the title of his sermon, mentions the names of Western and Russian iconoclasts: 'Sermon denouncing the heresy of the new profligates Luther ... and Calvin and Theodosius the Monk, called the Cross-eyed'. That the struggle against iconoclasm was a burning issue in the middle of the seventeenth century is evidenced by the fact that as soon as 1647 almost the entire text of the *Sbornik o pochitanii ikon* was reprinted in the *Sobornik* or *Sbornik iz 71 slova* (Zernova, no. 200, Pozdeeva, no. 152).

In the years leading up to the joining of East-Bank Ukraine to Russia in 1654 the accumulation of Ukrainian, Belorussian and Russian polemical literature continued in preparation for the publication of the *Kirillova kniga* in 1644 and the *Kniga o vere* in 1648. The basis of the *Kirillova kniga* was the collection of Ukrainian/Belorussian texts known as the *Prosvetitel' litovskii* (the Lithuanian Enlightener), which was compiled in the 1620s.⁴⁴ It contained works directed against the Anti-Trinitarians, the Catholics and the Armenians, mostly taken from the *Khronograf*. In manuscript versions from the 1620s, 1630s and 1640s, the *Prosvetitel'* gathered various additions: the *Indeks otrechennykh knig* (Index of Condemned Books), the *Slovo Maksima Greka 'Na latinov'* (The Tract of Maxim the Greek 'Against the Latins'), the *Izlozhenie vkratse* (Brief Exposition), or *Voprosy i otvety Anastasiia Antiokhskogo i Kirilla Aleksandriiskogo* (Questions and Answers of Anastasius of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria), and the highly eschatological work *Kazan'e Kirilla Ierusalimskogo* (The Instruction of Cyril of Jerusalem) of Stefan Zizanii,⁴⁵ from which the *Kirillova kniga* gets its name. It is generally thought that the *Kirillova kniga* 'was compiled by the archpriest Mikhail Rogov and others by order of the Tsar and Patriarch [to combat] many Latin and Armenian and German and other heresies'.⁴⁶ It was soon circulating all over the East Slavonic lands in a great number of copies,⁴⁷ and was later to become one of the mainstays of Old Believer polemics. In 1648, with the publication of *Kniga o vere*, the Moscow publishers completed their task of collecting, translating, editing and printing for the Russian reader Ukrainian and Belorussian polemical texts which could be used in the religious struggle of the 1640s. The *Kniga o vere* contained the *Apokrisis* of Khristofor Filaret, the *Palinodiia* of Zakharii Kopystenskii, and the same Vilna *Knizhitsa o vere* which was in the *Kirillova kniga*. Its original compiler and editor was the Ukrainian *igumen* Nathaniel. One scholar has noted: '... it contains practically

⁴⁴ Oparina (note 1), pp. 43–57.

⁴⁵ Oparina (note 1), p. 49.

⁴⁶ *Materialy dlia istorii raskola za pervoe vremia ego sushchestvovaniia*, edited by N. Subbotin (Moscow, 1874), 6, p. 153; Oparina (note 1), p. 52.

⁴⁷ Twenty-eight manuscripts are known of the three redactions of the *Prosvetitel' litovskii* in the seventeenth century. Oparina (note 1), pp. 45, 49.

all that is relevant about the Union, and ... has acquired a historical and literary significance never enjoyed by the books which were its sources'.⁴⁸

Four books in this group, in size and number of copies comprising over a quarter, with a total of 2111 leaves and 6000 copies, are publications which deal with the moral and ethical teachings of Orthodoxy. They are: the *Poucheniia* of Ephraim the Syrian; the *Lestvitsa* of St John Climacus; the *Sbornik iz 71 slova*; and the *Sbornik pouchenii*. Two editions also included the *Poucheniia* of the Abbot Dorotheus.

The works of Ephraim the Syrian enjoyed as much popularity and had as great an influence on Russian folk culture and literature as those of St John Chrysostom,⁴⁹ although this influence has generally been underestimated. Certainly, his sermons circulated widely among peasants and especially among Old Believers. For example, among the Old Believers of the Upper Kama, thirty-six books of Ephraim's sermons (together with those of the Abbot Dorotheus) were found, as compared with thirty-three copies of the *Uchitel'noe evangelie*, four of the *Margarit* and twenty of other works of St John Chrysostom.⁵⁰ The publishing history of Ephraim's *Poucheniia* is also unusual: it seems that one print-run of the book was not considered to be enough, for both in 1647 and in 1652 double editions were issued, one straight after the other. The poetic hymn to Ephraim in the afterword of the 1647 edition is unusually extravagant in its praise and its claims for the powerful effect of his sermons on the morality of the people.

In 1647 the Printing House issued another book which dwelt on moral questions—the *Lestvitsa* or *Lestvichnik* of St John Climacus (published 1 March in a folio edition of 347 leaves, Zernova, no. 199, Pozdeeva, no. 151), and on 30 June of the same year it published the huge *Sbornik iz 71 slova* in a folio edition of 879 leaves, 1200 copies (Zernova, no. 200, Pozdeeva, no. 152). The *Sbornik* contained works of twenty-four of the best-known Christian authors, including twenty-seven by St John Chrysostom, six by St Gregory the Theologian, five by St Basil the Great, and five by St Cyril of Turov. Its contents were extraordinarily varied and touched upon nearly all the

⁴⁸ E. I. Kaluzhniatskii, 'Igumena Nafanaila "Kniga o vere", ee istochniki i znachenie v istorii iuzhno-russkoi polemicheskoi literature', *Chteniia Imperatorskogo Obshchestva Istorii i Drevnostei Rossiiskikh*, 4, Section 2 (1887), pp. 8–10; G. Dement'ev, *Kriticheskii razbor tak nazyvaemoi Knigi o vere, sravnitel'no s ucheniem glagolemykh staroobriadsev* (St Petersburg, 1883), p. 21.

⁴⁹ In 1986, the following were accounted for in repositories in the USSR: 31 fifteenth-century manuscript copies of Ephraim's *Parenesis*; 34 of the *Poucheniia* of Abbot Dorotheus, from the same time; 15 of the *Margarit*; and 22 other collections of St John Chrysostom. A. A. Turilov, *Predvaritel'nyi spisok slaviano-russkikh knig XVv., khraniashchikhsia v SSSR* (Moscow, 1986).

⁵⁰ I. V. Pozdeeva, 'Vereshchaginskoe territorial'noe knizhnoe sobranie i problemy istorii dukhovnoi kul'tury russkogo naseleniia verkhov'ia Kamy', *Russkie pis'mennye i ustnye traditsii i dukhovnaia kul'tura* (Moscow, 1983), pp. 40–71; I. V. Pozdeeva, 'Drevnerusskoe nasledie v istorii traditsionnoi knizhnoi kul'tury staroobriadchestva: Pervyi period', *Istoriia SSSR*, 1988, no. 1, pp. 84–99.

questions of Orthodox faith which were relevant in the middle of the seventeenth century.

A special place is occupied by the *Sbornik pouchenii* (Collection of Sermons) issued in the name of the Patriarch Joseph (48 leaves, 1200 copies, published on 24 August 1643, Zernova, no. 165, Pozdeeva, no. 117). (The price of one copy was 2 *altyn*, 1 *den'ga*, and the whole run was sold for 78 roubles, i.e. at cost price, to the Patriarch.) In Printing House documents the collection is called 'the priestly sermon of the Patriarch Joseph' and, although in many cases it cannot even be said to be a compilation but rather a reprint of texts by other authors, it is significant in that it is the first book in the history of the Printing House to have been issued in the name of the patriarch.⁵¹ Joseph, Archimandrite of the Simonov Monastery, became patriarch on 27 March 1642, at a time when the State was being shaken by urban uprisings,⁵² Tatar raids,⁵³ growing dissatisfaction among warring social factions,⁵⁴ the failure of the harvest, death of livestock, and an epidemic of the plague. The aim of the *Pouchenie* was made clear in its passionate address to the church hierarchy: 'Teach, forbid, insist, compel the people of God towards piety, for this is a stormy time and the days are cunning and people are inclined towards evil'.⁵⁵ Of ten sermons, seven are addressed 'to princes and judges' and especially to those who 'judge unjustly'. The sermons paint vivid pictures of social injustice and the inability and lack of will of the State to deal with it: 'Judges take bribes, princes plunder and devour, the powerful crush the weak and there is nobody to intercede ...',⁵⁶ and 'Christ's flock is given over to the thief and the scoundrel for plunder, and they are slaughtered and their blood drunk and their meat eaten, and the thieves dress in their sheepskin' (*Pouchenie*, f. 29v.). Regardless of when the texts may have been written,⁵⁷

⁵¹ A. Golubtsov, 'Vstuplenie v patriarshestvo i pouchenie k pastve Iosifa—patriarkha Moskovskogo', *Pribavleniia k izdaniu tvorenii svv. ottsev*, 42 (1888), pp. 327–381; Bulychev (note 1), pp. 187–196.

⁵² E. I. Indova, A. A. Preobrazhenskii and Iu. A. Tikhonov, 'Narodnoe dvizhenie v Rossii XVI–XVIIv. i absoliutizm', in *Absoliutizm v Rossii* (Moscow, 1964), pp. 50–91.

⁵³ A. A. Novosel'skii, *Bor'ba moskovskogo gosudarstva s tatarami v XVII veke* (Moscow, Leningrad, 1948).

⁵⁴ L. V. Cherepnin, 'Zemskie sobory i utverzhdenie absoliutizma v Rossii', in *Absoliutizm v Rossii* (note 52), pp. 92–133; N. V. Rozhdestvenskii, *K istorii bor'by s tserkovnymi besporiadkami, otgoloskami iazychestva i porokami v russkom bytu XVIIv.: chelobitnaia nizhegorodskikh sviashchennikov 1636 g. v sviazi s pervonachal'noi deiatel'nost'iu Ivana Neronova* (Moscow, 1902); P. Smirnov, 'Chelobitnyia dvorian i detei boiarskikh vsekh gorodov v pervoi polovine XVIIv.', *Chteniia Imperatorskogo Obshchestva Istorii i Drevnostei Rossiiskikh*, 3 (1915), pp. 3–70.

⁵⁵ Quoted from the article by A. Golubtsov (note 51), which already in 1888 put forward convincing theories on the aim of the *Poucheniia*. See Golubtsov, p. 349.

⁵⁶ *Pouchenie sviashchennicheskoe patriarkha Iosifa*. Moscow, Printing House, 24 August 1643, ff. 24–25 (henceforth designated only by folio number).

⁵⁷ Evidently this part of Joseph's sermon is based on the thirteenth-century Russian text, the 'Pouchenie k popam', which in the fourteenth century was already part of the contents of *Kormchie knigi*. Bulychev (note 1), p. 192.

they ring out as a sharp condemnation of present custom and, indeed, of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich himself: '... those who have been destroyed by your judges ... weep, but you do not avenge them, taking truth for untruth, and loving illegal profits and those who inflict evil judgements upon people' (*Pouchenie*, f. 33–39v.).

Thus, within the framework of ancient, outwardly traditional medieval book forms, the Moscow publishers of the first half of the seventeenth century made use of knowledge from the whole of the Orthodox Christian tradition—from Byzantine to Ukrainian—to produce books which were relevant to the solution of contemporary problems. These books were intended for reading, exhortation, contemplation, and for what was regarded as the consummation of all reading—action. This use of religious forms and norms, which belong to the Christian struggle for the spiritual, the other-worldly and the non-temporal, for contemporary political and social ends was noted by scholars of the past⁵⁸ but has been overlooked by more recent researchers.

All the books cited above, apart from their functions as tools of instruction, as a means of translating the non-temporal into the actual and of combating heresies, also served to fulfil two broad needs. The first was formulated by A. Pypin, who wrote that 'the reading of books', which was conducive to spiritual and moral education, took the place of higher education.⁵⁹ The second has to do with a new, emerging political and national consciousness. The Russian national consciousness of the time was indissolubly linked with the idea of Slavic unity, with Rus' as the representative of Orthodoxy. This idea permeates all the publications of the Moscow Printing House discussed here. Besides constant references to the historical mission of Moscow as the Third Rome, there is the idea of the Church Slavonic language as the most important instrument for its fulfilment. This is summed up in the hymn to the Slavonic language in the Moscow edition of the *Kniga o vere*: it 'is broad and greatly famed, all-embracing and moving and perfect, simple and easy to understand. And it has won praise not only because of the theological writings and hymns which have been translated into it from the Greek, but also because of the liturgy and other sacraments. This language which is pleasing to God is used in Great and Little Russia, in Serbia and Bulgaria and in other countries'⁶⁰

⁵⁸ P. Bezsonov wrote of official publishing in the seventeenth century: '... even worse, in renouncing [discussion of] secular questions, absorbing them into itself, it turned everything into a matter of faith ... , where in the name of faith it was [really] secular matters which were being discussed ...' (in his *Russkoe gosudarstvo v pervoi polovine XVIIv.: rukopis' vremeni tsaria Alekseia Mikhailovicha* (Moscow, 1859), pt. 1, foreword, pp. vi–vii.

⁵⁹ A. Pypin, 'Drevnee prosveshchenie', *Vestnik Evropy*, 16 (1894), p. 769.

⁶⁰ Nathaniel, *Kniga o vere*. Moscow, Printing House, 8 May 1648, f. 3–3v.

Books with various functions

The remaining 4.5% of the Printing House's output is accounted for by ten books which have been placed together for external reasons and for convenience of statistical accounting. Half of them are editions of the *Ustav* (Typicon) of the Russian Church or of its individual parts. In the years under review the *Ustav* was published three times: 20 February 1633 (Zernova, no. 94, Pozdeeva, no. 58, the first edition after the unsuccessful one of M. Radyshevskii in 1610); 30 September 1633 (Zernova, no. 100, Pozdeeva, no. 65); and 26 March 1641 (Zernova, no. 154, Pozdeeva, no. 102). The total number of copies printed was 3350. At the end of the 1640s two articles similar to those found in the *Ustav* were published separately, both dealing with issues which were in hot dispute at the time. These were *O poklonakh* (On Bowing) (2400 leaves, October–November 1647, Pozdeeva, no. 159) and *O khirotonii* (On Ordination) (published 25 August 1649, Zernova, no. 228, Pozdeeva, no. 178). The *Ustav* warranted its second title *Oko tserkovnoe* (The Eye of the Church), for it had the most supreme significance for the entire system of Orthodox worship, the life of the black and white clergy, and of all Russian people. Upon ordination priests had to swear to obey the *Ustav*. It determined the order and length of services, the times of fasts and feasts and many other aspects of the life of the State, the community, the family and the individual. Thus its role remained as important in the seventeenth century as it had been at the time when Russian absolutism was being formed.

An important part of the *Ustav* was the calendar of religious feast days and holidays, called the *Mesiatseslov* or *Sviattsy*,⁶¹ which was twice published separately by the Printing House: 10 December 1646, in a quarto edition of 429 leaves, 1200 copies (Zernova, no. 193, Pozdeeva, no. 145); and 14 November 1648 in a 16-mo edition of 272 leaves, 2400 copies (Zernova, no. 213, Pozdeeva, no. 171) (Fig. 4). The *Sviattsy* had a considerable influence on folk culture; in the second half of the seventeenth century a copy was owned by most literate people and accompanied them through all circumstances of life. Among Old Believers, a copy was to be found in nearly every literate home, as was the *Uchebnaia psaltir'*. The 1646 edition contains, apart from the Church Calendar, tables for the calculation of Easter and all the movable feasts for the years 1647 to 1740, and also the texts of the troparia and kontakia for those days. The calendar itself gives such information as the number of days in a month, the length of day and night, a method of calculating on what day a date would fall in any given year, a list of names of saints and religious festivals and of the texts to be sung on those days. Manuscript versions had approximately the same contents, but a particular feature of the printed

⁶¹ It is also included in various forms in many types of book: the *Psaltir' sledovannaia*, the *Chasoslov*, *Evangelie*, *Apostol*, etc.

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СЕН ГРИГОРІЙ ПЕЛЪШЕМСКІЙ,
 ПРЕСТАВЛЕНА ВЪЗЛЪТО, СЦН.
 СОЗДА МОНАСТЫРЬ НАВОЛО
 ГАБ НАПЕЛЪШМЪ РЕЦЪ,
 ОУЧЕНИКЪ ЖЕ БЪ ДІОНИ
 СІА ГЛУШИЦКАГО
 ЧЮДОВО

94A

6

АІФСОЦЗШКТАБРЬ
 АВГДЕЗЗ.ИМАДИНЛА.
 ВРЧТИНП ПРАЗДНЕМЗ,
 ПОКЛОУ ПРТАМ КЛУЦЫ НА
 ПІЕА БІАІ, И ЖЕ УСТАБЛЕНО
 ЕСТЬ ПРАЗДНОВАТИ, ВОДНИ
 ЦРА ЛВА ПРЕМОУДРАГО, ВЛФ,
 ТА, СУАІ. И СТАГО АПА
 АНАНІИ, И ПРПЕАГО РОМАНА
 ПРФВЦА КОНДАКАРЕВИ. ЖИВША
 ГО ВЗЛФГА, ЕЦУС. И ПР
 ПОДОБНАГО ОЦА НАШЕГО СА
 ВЫ, ВИШЕСНАГО ЧЮДОВОЦА.

Fig. 4 Sviatitsy, 1648 (original page size 100 × 73mm), British Library copy

Sviatstsy, which allows them to be considered as a significant cultural phenomenon, was the inclusion of a *letopis'* or chronicle.⁶² The chronicle listed the names of all the most important Orthodox saints and gave biographical information and commentary on their lives.

The compilers paid particular attention to information about Russian and other Slavonic saints. The combination of chronological, historical and hagiographical commentaries with the texts of troparia and kontakia, which describe the deeds of the saints and praise their exploits, present, in spite of their brevity, a fairly clear picture of their lives and the merits which rendered them worthy of canonization. Precisely because of their brevity and clarity and because of the breadth of their dissemination, these texts influenced many aspects of Russian culture, including icon painting and folklore. The texts give information on when the saint lived, on his origins (for Russian saints the names of parents and place of birth are given, and for monks the time and place of the taking of vows), the time of his death and, more rarely, its circumstances. For example, the 'entry' for St Stephen of Perm reads: 'he was born in Great Russia in the town of Ustyug, the son of a cleric ... [and the name of the church and the names of his parents are given]. He was the first bishop of Perm and he taught them faith in Christ and the cross; and he wrote a grammar of their language in the year 6880. He died in the year 6904' (1646 *Sviatstsy*, ff. 220v.–222).

The texts in the *Sviatstsy* echo the political and patriotic ideas described earlier. For example, in the troparion to Alexander Nevsky, whose victory over 'the numerous regiments of Germans who came ... to seize the city of Great Novgorod' is cited as an exploit, the holy warrior is called upon to 'pray to God' for 'the kingdom of your descendants', thus emphasising the Romanovs' hereditary right to rule.

The tiny 16-mo second edition of the *Sviatstsy*—its type area measures 7 × 4.5 centimetres—was intended as a portable book, what we would now call a pocket edition. All in all, there is evidence that the church calendars printed in the 1640s were widely used as a constant source of reference by literate people from all levels of society.

The two books which it remains to analyse occupy not the last but the first place in Moscow printing of the first half of the seventeenth century. They are the two great works of Russian law—the 1649 *Ulozhenie* (Fig. 5) for secular law and the 1650–1653 *Kormchaia kniga* (Fig. 6) for canon law. The significance of these works and of their first publication is such that dozens of monographs and articles have been devoted to them.⁶³ However, their full

⁶² In this part of the 1648 *Sviatstsy* there is virtually no difference from the 1646 edition. The following analysis actually applies to both editions.

⁶³ See the bibliography in 'Akty Zemskikh soborov', in *Rossiiskoe zakonodatel'stvo X–XXvv.*, 3 (1985), pp. 72–74 and elsewhere.



ОУКАЗЪ ГЛАВАМЪ КНИГИ СЕЯ .
 ГЛАВА , А Ж , ѿ БОГЪ ХУЛНИКАХЪ , И ѿ ЦРКОВ-
 НЫХЪ МАТЕЖНИКАХЪ , А ВНЕИ , А СТАТЕН .

КТО ВОЗЛОЖИТЬ ХУЛОУ , НА ХРТА , И НА ПРЕ-
 ЧТЮ ЕЦУ , И НА НХЪ ОУГОДНИКОВЪ .

КТО ПРИШЕДЪ ВЪ ЦРКОВЬ БЖІЮ , И БЖТВЕННЫМЪ
 ЛНТЪРГИИ СОВЕРШИТИ НЕДАСТЬ .

КТО ВЪ ЦРКВИ ВО ВРЕМЯ ЦРКОВНАГО ПѢНІА
 ОУЧНИТЬ МАТЕЖЪ , ПРИПАТРІАРХЪ , И ПРИ
 ННЫХЪ ВЛАСТЕХЪ .

КТО ПРИШЕ ВЪ ЦРКВЬ БЖІЮ КОГО ОУБЕ ДО СМЕРТИ .

КТО ПРИШЕДЪ ВЪ ЦРКОВЬ БЖІЮ КОГО БИЕЪ
 РАНИТЬ , А НЕ ДО СМЕРТИ ОУБЕЕТЪ .

КТО ВЪ ЦРКВИ ЖЕ БЖІИ КОГО ОУДАРИ А НЕ РАНИ .

КТО ВЪ ЦРКВИ ЖЕ БЖІИ КОГО ѿ БЕСЧЕСТИТЬ
 СЛОВОМЪ , А НЕ ОУДАРИТЬ .

ВЪ ЦРКВИ БЖІИ ВО ВРЕМЯ ЦРКОВНАГО ПѢНІА , И
 ГДРЮ , И ПАТРІАРХЪ , И ИНЫМЪ ВЛАСТЕМЪ ,
 НИКОМУ , НИ ѿ КАКО ДѢЛѢ , НЕ БИТИ ЧЕЛОМЪ .

КТО ВЪ ЦРКВИ БЖІИ ЧРЕЗЪ ЗАПОВѢДЬ ОУЧНЕТЪ
 ГДРЮ , И ПАТРІАРХЪ , И ИНЫМЪ ВЛАСТЕМЪ ,
 ѿ КАКОМЪ ДѢЛѢ , БИТИ ЧЕЛОМЪ .

Fig. 5 Ulozhenie, 1649 (original page size 400 × 190mm), British Library copy

significance can only be understood if they are viewed as an inseparable unit; this was undoubtedly how their publishers saw them.

The *Ulozhenie* or code of secular law effectively remained in force for over two hundred years. At least, Stroev, writing in 1883, claimed that it reflected 'present law in Russia'.⁶⁴ Its compilation and printing in 1649 came about as a result of deep social, economic, political and spiritual changes. The *Ulozhenie* reflected and strengthened the 'establishment of hereditary serfdom', and codified the 'service estate system of landholding', an 'important stage in the transition from a limited monarchy with representation of the estates to absolutism'.⁶⁵ In the opinion of some scholars, the *Ulozhenie* 'not only surpassed previous bodies of Russian law'⁶⁶ but even 'had no equal ... in contemporary European practice'.⁶⁷ The putting into effect of the new code meant that 'the predominant form of law became the written law which pushed aside and subordinated common law'.⁶⁸ The Church as a political institution has a few articles devoted to it,⁶⁹ and in these can be seen a desire to find a means of subordinating it to the State and of weakening its power. It is no accident that the future patriarch Nikon spoke out sharply against the new legislation, claiming that it was passed 'out of fear of intestine strife among the black clergy and not for the sake of true law'.⁷⁰ The desire to secularize Russian law which is apparent in the *Ulozhenie* has been noted by a number of historians. M. Arkhangel'skii wrote in 1881: 'The law was limited by narrow boundaries. There is no mention at all of the Christian faith, of Holy writ, of the mysteries of the Church.'⁷¹

However, the *Kormchaia kniga* was devoted to these and many other aspects of the Orthodox faith, and of ecclesiastical and secular life. The very date of the order to publish the *Kormchaia kniga*—1 July 1649, two months before the beginning of the printing of the second edition of the *Ulozhenie*—

⁶⁴ V. Stroev, *Istoriko-iuridicheskoe issledovanie Ulozheniia, izdannogo tsarem Alekseem Mikhailovichem v 1649 g.* (St Petersburg, 1833).

⁶⁵ A. G. Man'kov, *Ulozhenie 1649 g.—kodeks feodal'nogo prava Rossii* (Leningrad, 1980), pp. 109, 77, 257.

⁶⁶ Man'kov (note 65), p. 3.

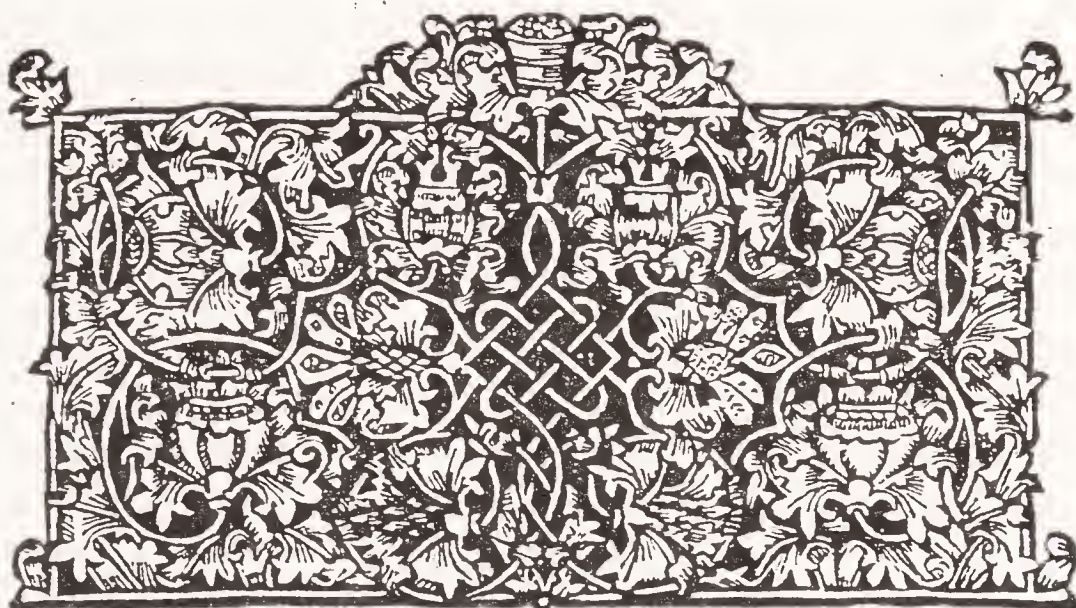
⁶⁷ A. G. Man'kov, 'Sobornoe Ulozhenie 1649 goda', in 'Akty Zemskikh soborov' (note 63), p. 77.

⁶⁸ Man'kov, *Ulozhenie ...* (note 65), p. 250.

⁶⁹ Nine articles in Chapter I, 'O bogokhul'nikakh i o tserkovnykh miatezhnikakh', were devoted to these questions. Other articles discussed the clergy (64 articles in Chapter X deal with punishment for dishonourable conduct), church property, etc.

⁷⁰ We must acknowledge the acuity of Nikon, who saw the true reasons for publication of the *Ulozhenie* in the continuous uprisings of the seventeenth century. See V. M. Undol'skii, 'Otzyv patriarkha Nikona ob Ulozhenii tsaria Alekseia Mikhailovicha', *Russkii arkhiv*, 2 (1886), pp. 611–612, 619.

⁷¹ M. Arkhangel'skii, 'O Sobornom Ulozhenii tsaria Alekseia Mikhailovicha v otnoshenii k pravoslavnoi tserkvi', *Khristianskoe chtenie*, 8 (1881), p. 52.



ИЗЪЖЕНІЕ ПРАВИЛОМЪ И ЦЕРКВИ

и о́тче́скимъ , и мѣ́л то́лкованіе , а́лехіа
 діакона , и́ за́конохрани́телемъ а́рхите́нна .
 пра́вила стѣхъ апта́ . пра́вило , а .
 Два́ или́ три́ е́писпи , по́ставля́ютъ е́писпа .
 то́лкованіе . Три́ оу́же е́писпи безвѣ́лагоу
 и́звѣ́та , до́лжны́ со́уть по́ставля́ти е́писко
 па , и́ да не́боудетъ и́звѣ́женъ , а́ще не́бѣтъ
 мо́щно вѣ́мъ со́ущимъ во о́бласти е́писко
 помъ со́вѣщати́ся во е́дино . и́ о́семъ
 и́щи пра́вила четве́ртаго , и́же вни́сен
 перва́го со́бора . пра́вило , б .
 Е́динъ е́писпъ , по́ставля́етъ презвѣ́тера , и́
 діакона , и́ прочы́я причѣ́тники . се́ разо́умно .
 пра́вило , г . А́ще ко́торыи презвѣ́теръ ,

гла
а

О́лтарю́ не́потре́бна́ да не́прно́сатся .

Fig. 6 Kormchaia, 1653 (original page size 295 × 185mm), New York Public Library copy

indicates that it was seen as an essential supplement to it.⁷² It has now been possible to prove that there were not two but only one edition of the *Kormchaia kniga* which was issued on 15 June 1653. However, a small number of copies of intermediate stages of publication came out in July 1650 and May 1652, giving foundation to discussion about the 'Kormchaia in its first form' and 'mixed copies' (see Zernova, no. 222).⁷³

With the publication of these two works, the central and regional bureaucracies and the lower and higher echelons of the Church hierarchy had at their disposal a unified body of texts which could be used in secular and ecclesiastical courts. No less important was the fact that the basic sources of all legal decisions became accessible and generally known. This considerably took away from the bureaucracy's opportunities to manipulate the courts for its own gain and from the notorious 'Muscovite red tape', which had become a serious hindrance to the efficient functioning of central and local government.

Thus it can be seen that the entire output of the Moscow Printing House during these years consists of books which were important to Church and State, and which must have had a profound influence on the ideological, political and moral state of society. They were a means of instructing the Russian people in literacy and Christian dogma, and a weapon in the struggle against those of other beliefs and against outright political opponents.

Pricing and distribution of Moscow-printed books

However, the answer to the question—what books were published and to what end?—only allows us to make a judgement about the policy on book publishing of the leaders of Church and State. The cultural, or rather the educational influence of the Printing House's activities can only be demonstrated if we know into whose hands its books fell, exactly how many copies were published and at what price they were actually sold.⁷⁴ Study of the Printing House's income and expenditure ledgers has enabled us to establish the precise print-run of 153 books and the dates when the size of the print-run was changed; this makes it possible to calculate not approximately but exactly the number of copies of all books which came from the Printing House. Our research indicates that between the years 1615 and 1652 no fewer than 275,444 copies of 223 publications were printed.

⁷² Printing of the *Kormchaia* began on 5 November 1649 (Pozdeeva, no. 185).

⁷³ From the viewpoint of the publishers themselves, there was only one edition, since the income and expenditure ledgers of the Publishing House summarized all expenses for printing the *Kormchaia*, beginning with the cost of the paper which was issued in 1649 and concluding with expenses for correcting the section 'O patriarshem postavlenii' in 1653. Total cost of the edition increased sharply, because of multiple reworking, to one ruble 29 *altyn* 2½ *den'ga* per copy (2271 rubles for the entire edition).

⁷⁴ See also I. V. Pozdeeva, 'Istoricheskoe bytovanie izdaniia Moskovskogo Pechatnogo dvora', *Solanus*, 5 (1991), pp. 5–24.

Category	Number of editions	% of total number of editions	Number of print- runs	Number of copies	% of total number of copies
Liturgical books	98	43·9%	100	106,845	38·8%
Instructional books	71	31·8%	90	102,634	37·3%
Books for reading and worship	28	12·6%	30	33,315	12·1%
Books for reading	16	7·2%	16	18,600	6·7%
Law publications	3	4·5%	3	3,600	5·1%
Publications of Church statutes	5		6	6,850	
Calendars	2		3	3,600	
Totals	223	100%	248	275,444	100%

These data enable us to reach a definite conclusion as to the educational role of Moscow printing. We can see that in thirty-eight years its Printing House supplied Russia with over 100,000 instructional books and over 50,000 for reading, preaching and polemical struggle. Also, for the first time the texts of ecclesiastical and State law were made widely available.

The educational function of the press—it was seen by the State as an ideological and not a profit-making institution—is made clear by its pricing policy. Out of 223 books it has proved possible to establish the retail price and, as a rule, the cost price of 176 of them. During the first twenty years after the Printing House’s renewal of activity, books were by order of the Tsar normally sold ‘without profit, for as much as they cost to make’, i.e. at cost price. After 1634, when the Printing House burnt down, rebuilding costs were included in the cost price. From that time a ‘regulation’ price became customary, exceeding the cost price by varying amounts, but there was never a policy of increasing the price several (three or four) times, as some present-day researchers have assumed.⁷⁵ For example, the *Chasovnik* which in the 1630s and 1640s was sold at an average price of 17 copecks (minimum 15, maximum 20) had a 77% surcharge added. The *Psaltir' uchebnaia* was sold with a surcharge of 80%; its average price was 60 copecks (minimum 50, maximum 70). Liturgical books were sold with an average surcharge of around 55%, and books for reading with an average of around 67%. As a rule an *Azbuka* would cost two *den'gi*, i.e. one copeck. For the sake of comparison, it should be noted that the cleaners who were hired to clear up rubbish in the Printing House were paid eight *den'gi* a day.

⁷⁵ See Luppov (note 1), pp. 58–60.

We are now able to answer the questions—into whose hands did these books pass, and what purposes did they serve? Was Kiselev right in agreeing with Pekarskii that the main purpose of teaching from books at that time was ‘the preparation of those preparing to enter the Church so as to enable them to carry out their religious duties’?⁷⁶ Answers to this question are to be found in material on the Printing House bookshop. This is contained in those same income and expenditure ledgers, which generally indicate the name of the purchaser, where he lived, his social position, the number of books bought and the price paid. On the basis of these data we can assert that books necessary for learning to read and write were bought in tens of thousands by the lower classes of society. For example, the 1644 edition of the *Chasovnik* was sold out within five days, and the 1645 edition within seven days; both had print-runs of 1200. We have information about the purchasers of 2316 copies of the *Chasovnik*. Only 32 copies (1.4%) were bought by members of the upper classes (four people); 608 copies (26%) were bought by purchasers from churches or monasteries; 586 (25%) were bought by employees of the Printing House; and the remaining 1092 copies were bought by members of the merchant classes and the lower classes of society. Thus 76.6% of copies of the *Chasovnik*, which was printed, as its afterword states, ‘for elementary education’, immediately passed into the possession of ordinary lay people.

Even more telling are the figures for the sales of six editions of the *Uchebnaia psaltir'*, which came out between 1645 and 1649. All had print-runs of 1200 and were sold at the following prices: the first two editions—for 70 copecks; the third—for 54 copecks; the fourth—for 60 copecks; the fifth and sixth—for 50 copecks. Out of a total of 7200 copies we have information about 549 purchasers who bought 5667 of them. 4036 copies (71%) were bought by Muscovites. Of these, 589 copies were bought by 113 merchants, market traders and inhabitants of the trading quarter; 342 copies were bought by 120 minor government officials, members of the service class or the military. Monasteries and churches or their representatives bought a little over a quarter of all copies printed. However, it is evident that a number of these were either resold or were used in church and monastery schools. For example, 49 copies were bought by the sacrist of the Church of the Annunciation, undoubtedly for its school, and by the deacon of St Clement's—129 copies were bought, for the same purpose. Representatives of the upper classes bought 8% of all copies; members of the service class or the military also bought 8%; merchants bought 15%. A large proportion—38%—were bought (for resale) by employees of the Printing House. 1631 copies (23%) were bought (soon after publication) by the inhabitants of 67 towns and villages from all over Russia. The largest number were bought by

⁷⁶ Kiselev (note 2), p. 135.

inhabitants of Kostroma—on 32 occasions they bought a total of 185 copies. Dozens of copies were bought by the inhabitants of other northern Russian towns: Vologda—15 purchases, 71 copies; Ustyug Veliky—124 copies. Other copies were bought by people from Kalyazin, Kazan, Nizhny Novgorod, Pereyaslov Zalesky, Pskov, Rostov the Great, Solikamsk, Suzdal, Solovki, Tot'ma, Tver, Torzhok, Usol, Yur'evets Podolsky, Kholmogory, Yaroslavl, and many others.

It is true that other types of books, not used for learning, took longer to get into circulation and were acquired by representatives of other social classes, but they too, quite soon after publication, became an important fact of Russian and Slavonic culture and an active factor in the preservation and dissemination of traditional spiritual, social and political values. Although, during the time of Peter the Great, Moscow printed books of the first half of the seventeenth century lost their role as a progressive force in the development of society, they still became the foundation for the building and preservation of the spiritual values and traditional culture of the Old Believers.

Translated by Glenn E. Curtis and Christine Thomas

The items from the NYPL collections illustrated here are among some 300 old Slavic printed and manuscript books receiving conservation treatment as part of a generous U.S. Department of Education Title II-C grant. The Slavic studies profession is grateful for the vital support provided to U.S. collections by the Title II-C programme over the past sixteen years.

Russian Emblem Books *

Anthony Hippisley

‘Always trying to catch up with Western Europe’ might be one way to describe Russia. If it is true of today’s Commonwealth of Independent States, it was equally true of Imperial Russia throughout the two centuries that preceded the Revolution of 1917. Probably the most prodigious leap forward to catch up with the West was performed by Russia at the very beginning of her imperial history, thanks to the efforts of Peter I who augmented his title of Tsar with that of *Imperator*. This man had a vision of himself and of Russia that his predecessors had lacked. He saw Russia as part of Europe, which is why he banned the long beard and traditional kaftan: his officers of state must look European, not Asiatic. Reflecting on this period of reform from the perspective of the 1830s, the philosopher Chaadaev commented: ‘A great man wished to enlighten us, and in order to kindle in us a desire for education he threw us the mantle of civilisation. We picked up the mantle, but did not touch the enlightenment.’¹ Everything is relative, and to Chaadaev Peter the Great’s reforms seemed to have died in infancy. Nevertheless, during this spectacular reign that lasted from 1682 to 1725 Russia underwent changes almost as traumatic as those of the Revolution two hundred years later. Among all the innovations brought by this energetic tsar the present article will focus on one phenomenon in particular: the emblem book.

During his journey across Europe to Holland and England, the so-called Great Embassy of 1698, Peter the Great commissioned an Amsterdam printer to produce an emblem book that could be made use of in Russia, and in 1705 there appeared the now famous *Symbola et Emblemata* containing 840 emblems with explanatory titles in Dutch and symbols or mottoes in Russian, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, English and German.² It is significant that no author is indicated (Fig. 1). The name that stands forth prominently on the title-page is that of the Emperor himself, for the book was for him a tool for projecting the image of the new Russian Empire. The emblem was to play an important role in the creation of this image. The ships of the infant Russian navy were decorated on their sterns with emblems and symbols appropriate to their names; royal entries were organized, with

* This article is based on a paper delivered at the SCONUL ACOSEEM conference held at Glasgow University on 26–27 September 1991.

¹ P. Ia. Chaadaev, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii i izbrannye pis'ma*, vol. 1 (Moscow: Nauka, 1991), p. 330.

² *Symbola et Emblemata, jussu atque auspiciis Sacerrimae suae Majestatis Augustissimae ac Serenissimae Imperatoris Moschoviae ... Petri Alexeidis* (Amstelaedami, 1705).

S Y M B O L A
E T
E M B L E M A T A

Jussu atque auspiciis

SACERRIMÆ SUÆ MAJESTATIS

AUGUSTISSIMI AC SERENISSIMI

IMPERATORIS MOSCHOVIAE.

MAGNI DOMINI CZARIS, ET.

MAGNI DUCIS

PETRI ALEXEIDIS,

totius Magnæ, Parvæ & Albæ Rossiaë, nec non aliarum
multarum Potestatum atque Dominiorum

Orientalium, Occidentalium Aquilonariumque

SUPREMI MONARCHÆ,

excusa.



A M S T E L Æ D A M I

Apud HENRICUM WETSTENIUM. Anno 1705.

Fig. 1 *Symbola et Emblemata*, Amsterdam, 1705. Title-page. Reproduced by permission of Glasgow University Library.

triumphal arches and other temporary architecture adorned with allegorical figures and numerous emblems; firework displays and illuminations were often staged in combination with royal entries to celebrate a military victory or other event, and they, too, displayed a symbolic imagery that was derived from emblems. The schools of Moscow and St Petersburg produced drama and poetry in praise of Peter the Great and Russia, using the same emblematic language that was to be seen on the triumphal arches of the two capitals.³ The semiotic dimension of this era was not overstated when Academician D. S. Likhachev claimed at a UNESCO conference in the late 1970s: 'Peter may without dispute be credited with having altered the entire "sign system" of Old Russia'.⁴

The emblem book *Symbola et Emblemata* arrived in the middle of this scene, both as a codification of the emblematic usage that was already widespread in Peter's Russia and also as a stimulus and standard for the development of such usage, particularly in applied arts like furniture and silverware. The book makes no claim to originality. Although no author is named, it has been known for many years that *Symbola et Emblemata* was created by copying two emblem books by Daniel de la Feuille and adding a Russian symbol to those in all the other languages. The two books, both of which are to be found in the Stirling Maxwell collection of emblem books and related works in Glasgow University Library, are *Devises et emblemes anciennes et modernes* (Amsterdam, 1691; classmark S.M. 1367), and *Devises et emblemes d'amour* (Amsterdam, 1696; S.M. 814) which bears the author's name Pallavicini or Parravicini. Peter must have had a copy of at least the first of these books by de la Feuille, since some of his emblematically named ships were launched before the publication of their apparent source-book, the *Symbola et Emblemata* of 1705, but the progression from using a foreign manual to commissioning a Russian version thereof is a logical one.

De la Feuille's collection of 1691 contains two categories of emblems: on the one hand the hieroglyphic emblem proper, deriving from such great works as the 400 emblems of Joachim Camerarius (1590–97) and the Urtext of Andreas Alciato, *Emblematum liber* (1532), and on the other hand the device or *impresa*, which was a heraldic emblem adopted by a specific person to indicate a specific event (as distinct from his coat of arms which was a permanent encoding of his own family name). Collections of devices upon which de la Feuille drew include the *Symbola varia diversorum principum* of Anselmus de Boodt (1603) and Saavedra's *Idea de un principe politico Christiano*

³ A. A. Morozov, 'Emblematika barokko v literature i iskusstve Petrovskogo vremeni', in *Problemy literaturnogo razvitiia v Rossii pervoi treti XVIII veka* (Leningrad, 1974), pp. 184–226.

⁴ D. S. Likhachev, 'Byla li epokha Petrovskikh reform pereryvom v razvitiu russkoi kul'tury?', in *Slavianskie kul'tury v epokhu formirovaniia i razvitiia natsii XVIII–XIX vv. Materialy mezhdunarodnoi konferentsii (IuNESKO)* (Moscow, 1978), p. 171.



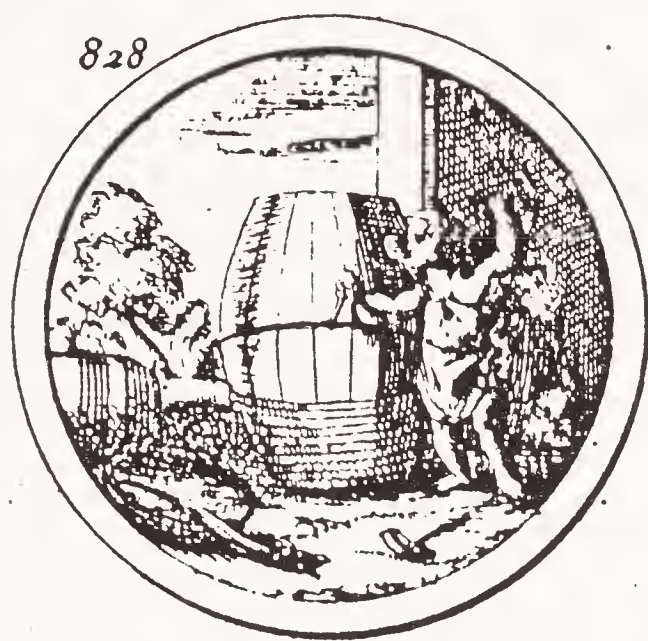
Fig. 2 Silver beaker, Moscow 1733. Reproduced from A. von Solodkoff, *Russian Gold and Silver*, London 1981, by permission of the publisher.

representada en cien Empresas (1640). Peter I considered de la Feuille's book useful precisely because it offered a rich compendium of both kinds of emblem. But he also saw the need to include a good selection of another very popular branch of emblematics, the love emblem, and this is why he caused de la Feuille's 1696 collection to be added on to make the full anthology that is *Symbola et Emblemata*. Indeed, the break between the two de la Feuille collections can be clearly identified in the Russian emblem book at No. 708. From No. 709 the Russian book dwells almost exclusively on love emblems that can be traced back through de la Feuille to works by Jacob Cats, Otto van Veen (Vaenius) and the *Thronus Cupidinis* of 1618.

The Russian emblem book did indeed serve the purpose for which Peter intended it, though the craftsmen who made use of it did not always understand the meanings of the emblems they were copying. Alexander von Solodkoff's book *Russian Gold and Silver* contains an illustration of a silver beaker dated 'Moscow, 1733', with emblem 827 from *Symbola et Emblemata* engraved on it (see Fig. 2).⁵ It shows Cupid flying towards a pyramid with ivy climbing up it. But the plate on p. 277 of the Russian emblem book from which the silversmith made his copy reveals a numerical dislocation, in that 824 precedes 823, 826 precedes 825, and 828 precedes 827 (see Fig. 3). Thus No. 827 looks superficially like the last emblem on the plate, and the silversmith copied the last motto on the left-hand page without noticing that it was the motto for No. 828. The Russian motto 'Soglasie del liubov' sokhraniaet' means 'harmony preserves the love of things' and refers to Cupid the cooper, an emblem taken ultimately from the collection *Nederduytsche poemata* by Heinsius (Amsterdam, 1616). The Russian silversmith should have engraved on his beaker the motto 'Tvoim sostoianiem ia prirashchaiu', equivalent to the Latin 'Te stante virebo', 'I grow as long as you stand', which is what the ivy says to the pyramid, or one lover to another (also an emblem from Heinsius). However, the beaker is a beautiful object despite this mistake, and one wonders whether the consumer would have noticed the error anyway.

Apart from this 1705 edition of *Symbola et Emblemata*, of which the Stirling Maxwell collection has a very fine copy (S.M. 1477), it also possesses a copy of the rare Haarlem edition of 1743 published by Herman van den Burg (S.M. 1891). But the most popular edition of this famous Russian emblem book was that put out in St Petersburg in 1788 by Nestor Maksimovich Ambodik (Fig. 4). Unlike the 1705 edition, this book gives the titles of the emblems in Russian rather than Dutch and, more importantly, provides a long introductory article by Ambodik on the meaning of emblems and the symbolism of classical iconography. As he tells his reader, 'the present edition ... may serve not only to benefit those who teach and learn the arts of drawing,

⁵ Alexander von Solodkoff, *Russian Gold and Silver* (London: Trefoil, 1981), plate 13.



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Mm 3

827. *Een Pronknaald met klim bewassen.*

ТВОИМЪ СЮТОАНИЕМЪ А ПРИРАЦІАЮ.

Tu stante virebo. *Tant que tu subsisteras, je serai verdoyant.* La tua sussistenza è mia verdezza. *Tu ser es mi verdor.* Uw Wesen is mijn groei-
jen. Your Being is mine growth. Dein Wesen ist mein grünen.

828. *Cupido Kuiper.*

СОГЛАСІЕ Д'КАКЪ ЛЮБОВЬ СОХРАНЯЕТЪ.

Harmoniam rerum Amor conservat. *L'amour conserve tout.* L'amore mantiene l'armonia delle cose. *El Amor sustenta todo.* De Liefde on-
derhoud alles. Love conserveth all. Die Liebe unterhält alles.

engraving and painting; it will also be not unwelcome to the many people who have a curiosity and love for natural and civic history, and in particular to the noble gentry who diligently investigate their origins and antiquity.’⁶

One noble family that acquired a copy of Ambodik’s edition was the Turgenevs. The novelist Ivan Turgenev relates in a letter of 1840 how as a child he broke into the parental library together with one of the serfs, and they made off to their respective rooms with an old dusty volume each. ‘There had fallen to my lot a “Book of Emblems, etc.”, an imprint of the 1780s, very thick ... I leafed through my great book all day and went to bed with a whole world of confused images in my mind.’⁷ This childhood recollection was used by the author in one of his novels, *A Nest of the Gentry* (1859). An English translation of the novel was made in 1869 by a librarian at the British Museum, William Ralston, who had begun corresponding with Turgenev three years earlier and had impressed him with his knowledge and love of Russian literature. It so happened that Ralston was an acquaintance of Sir William Stirling Maxwell, and not long ago a most interesting three-way correspondence between these men was unearthed in Strathclyde Regional Archive by Mr David Weston of Glasgow University Library. In the course of the correspondence, Stirling Maxwell asks Ralston to help decipher the inscription on a piece of seventeenth-century silverware; Ralston gets Turgenev, then staying in London, to help with the deciphering; Ralston sends a copy of his translation of Turgenev’s novel to Stirling Maxwell; Stirling Maxwell comes across the reference to Ambodik’s emblem book in Ralston’s translation of Turgenev’s novel and asks Ralston for more details; Turgenev not only tells Ralston about the emblem book, but also offers to let Stirling Maxwell have the copy that is in the family library, in other words, the very one that features in the novel. Turgenev writes in February 1871 to Ralston in his own polished English: ‘I will bring back Maximowitsch’s book from Spasskoïe and offer it to Sir W. Maxwell to complete his collection—for me it has no great value.’⁸ We are left to conclude from this correspondence that the fine copy of Ambodik’s 1788 edition of *Symbola et Emblemata* now in the Stirling Maxwell Collection (S.M. 1567) was Turgenev’s own copy, though in the absence of an *ex libris* this remains a hypothesis.

Up to now we have been considering essentially one Russian emblem book. Its pedigree can be continued: Ambodik brought out another edition in 1811,

⁶ Nestor Maksimovich-Ambodik, *Emblemy i simvoly izbrannye* (Petropli, 1788), p. iv (erroneously numbered v).

⁷ I. S. Turgenev, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii i pisem v dvadtsati vos'mi tomakh*, Pis'ma, vol. 1, p. 201.

⁸ See Anthony Hippisley, ‘Turgenev, Ralston and Stirling-Maxwell: Some Unpublished Correspondence’, *Scottish Slavonic Review*, No. 7, 1986, pp. 33–47.

ЕМВЛЕМЫ И СΥΜΒΟΛЫ

ИЗБРАННЫЕ,

на Россійскій, Латинскій, Французскій, Нѣмецкій

и Аглицкій языки преложенные,

прежде въ Амстердамѣ, а нынѣ во градѣ Св. Петра

напечатанные и исправленные

Несторомъ Максимовичемъ-Амбодикомъ.

EMBLEMATA ET SYMBOLO

SELECTA

Rossica, Latina, Gallica, Germanica et Anglica linguis exposita;

olim Amstelodami edita, nunc denique Petropoli typis recusa, aucta et emendata;

cura ac sumptibus

Consiliarii aulici, Doctoris et Professoris Medicinae

Nestoris Maximowitsch-Ambodick,

MDCCLXXXVIII.



Печатано въ Императорской Типографіи, 1788 года.

Fig. 4 *Emvlemy i simvoly*, St Petersburg 1788. Title-page. Reproduced by permission of Glasgow University Library.

and a facsimile edition of the 1788 edition was published by Brill in 1989, edited by the present author.⁹

The one notable lacuna in *Symbola et Emblemata* is the genre of the religious emblem, and possibly with this in mind an anonymous author in the early eighteenth century set about providing the Russian reading public with a religious emblem book. It is now extremely rare and is hardly known about in Russia, let alone in the West. It is entitled *Emblemat dukhovnyi*, which could be roughly translated 'spiritual emblems', and bears the year 1743 on the title-page, though no place or author is indicated. There is a description of the book in the bibliography by V. S. Sopikov, first published in 1818 and most recently reprinted by the Holland Press in 1962. Sopikov does the reader the great service of transcribing the text of each of the forty emblems and four title-pages.¹⁰ My involvement with *Emblemat dukhovnyi* began in 1988 when I received a letter from a New York antiquarian book dealer with photocopies enclosed of several pages of what seemed to him to be a Russian emblem book, and the request that I identify them if I possibly could. I recognized the text from Sopikov, though this was the first time I had seen the engravings (Fig. 5). I told the dealer what book it was, and after some negotiation it was acquired by Glasgow University Library for the Stirling Maxwell Collection (classmark pending), probably the only copy outside Russia.

The most important task facing the investigator into this curious emblem book was to decide what it was and where it came from. Each plate contains one emblem, figure and text, crudely engraved even by comparison with the rather elementary draughtsmanship of *Symbola et Emblemata*. The occasional discrepancy between figure and text, and the details of the figures themselves, indicated that the engraver had been copying from a Western source. Plate 5, for instance, is entitled 'The mirror of the Christian hypocrite' (Fig. 6), and shows a man in church whose thoughts continually fly out through the church windows to worldly matters, even though he appears to be listening attentively to the service. But the architecture in this emblem is not Russian, the man is not dressed in Russian clothes, and in the Russian Orthodox Church people do not sit in chairs and pews. The text beneath this figure talks of the Christian *standing* to listen to the Word of God, but the picture shows him seated.

The Stirling Maxwell Collection contains a wealth of emblem books, so, working on the principle that the original source of *Emblemat dukhovnyi* might have had the title *Emblemata sacra*, it was possible to check a number of likely

⁹ N. M. Maksimovich-Ambodik, *Emvlemy i simvoly (1788): The First Russian Emblem Book*, edited, with translation and introduction, by Anthony Hippius (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989).

¹⁰ V. S. Sopikov, *Opyt rossiiskoi bibliografii* (St Petersburg, 1813), 2nd ed. V. N. Rogozhin, editor (St Petersburg, 1904-05), facsimile ed. (London: Holland Press, 1962), pt. 1, No. 349.



Fig. 5 *Emblemat dukhovnyi*, 1743. Title-page. Reproduced by permission of Glasgow University Library.

candidates and eventually to locate the actual source, Johann Saubert's *Emblemata sacra* (1625–30; S.M. 1815).¹¹ Like the Russian book, Saubert's is divided into four parts, each with its own title-page, and it is clear that the Russian engraver copied the picture of each emblem and as much text, translated from the German, as he could fit onto the plate. The emblem in Saubert corresponding to the Russian plate 5 is No. 4 of part 1, 'Hypocrita. Der Spiegel eines Tauschchristens'. As one might have expected, the German text (line 9 of the poem) describes the man as sitting in his place, as is proper in a Lutheran church (Fig. 7). Elsewhere in the poem we can see that the Russian translator did not so much attempt to adapt the text as fail to understand the German original. Lines 7–11 of the poem contain a number of verbs in the subjunctive mood governed by the main clause 'Wie mancher rühmt', 'How many a man boasts': boasts that he is a Christian, that he does everything that is praiseworthy, that he goes into church, sits devoutly in his place and listens to the Word, that he prays diligently and that he wants to be particularly merciful to the poor. The Russian translator has missed this use of the subjunctive and has placed all the corresponding verbs into the indicative mood, with a consequent distortion of meaning: 'How many people praise themselves and call themselves Christians, but do according to their carnal desires. One person comes into the church, stands devoutly, listens to the Word of God, prays diligently, is especially merciful to the poor.' The phrase 'but do according to their carnal desires' has been added as a refutation of the preceding phrase 'call themselves Christians'. But then the Russian text lists as facts the series of Christian activities which in the German poem are only the boasts of the hypocrite.

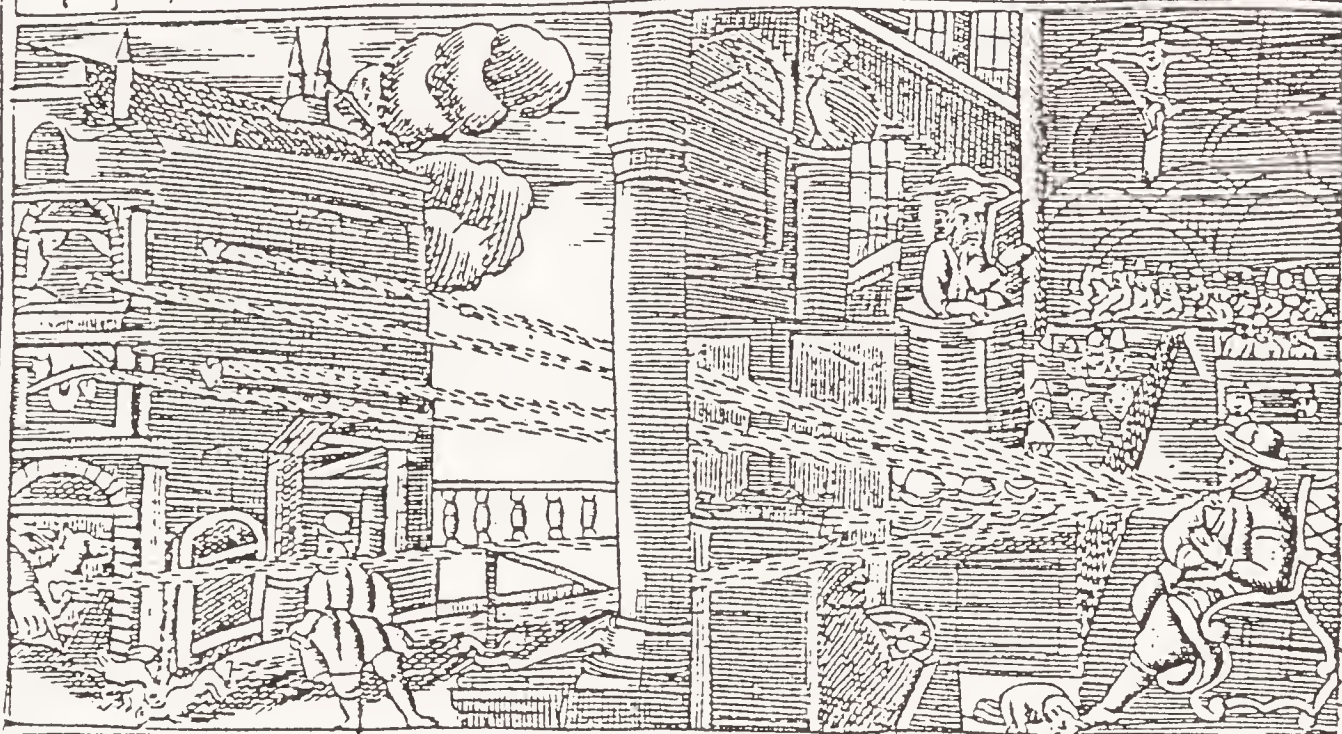
In some emblems in *Emblemat dukhovnyi* the text in the Stirling Maxwell copy does not agree with Sopikov's transcription. This could not be put down to carelessness on the part of the bibliographer, because for some emblems the text is identical, and for others it differs very widely and consistently—for example, in the treatment of superscript abbreviations or in the style of writing. A visit to the public library in Leningrad (the Saltykov-Shchedrin Library) in May 1991 enabled the question to be resolved. The metal on which the emblems were engraved must have been of poor quality and liable to fracturing. There are a total of seven copies of this emblem book in the Leningrad (now St Petersburg) library, and it proved possible to arrange them in chronological order and see the progressive deterioration of certain plates, followed by their replacement with new plates engraved in a different hand, with different orthography and inferior draughtsmanship. On the basis of this comparative study I would conclude that the Stirling Maxwell copy of

¹¹ Johann Saubert, *Duodekas Emblematum Sacrorum* (Nürnberg, 1625–30).

часть а

5

ЗЕРЦАЛО ХРИСТИАНИНА ЛИЦѢМЪ РА



ЧѢЧЕ ЛЩѢ ХОЩЕШИ НАРИЦАТИСЯ ХРІТІАНИНЪ
 ТОЩІА ДАИМА ТВОЕ СОИСТИНЫМЪ ДѢЛОМЪ
 СОГЛАСНО БУДЕТЪ АКОЖЕ ХРИСТОСЪ ЗАПОВЕДА ТЕБѢ КАКО
 СІЕ ВЕСЕЛА ПРЕНЕБРЕГАЕША КАКО МНОГІА ПОХВАЛАЮЩА
 ИХРІПІАНЫ НАРИЦАЮТСЯ ѿБѢЧЕ ПѢВРАТЪ УГОДНОЕ
 ПЛОТИ СВОЕЙ ИНЫИ ВХОДАЮТЪ ВЪ ЦРКОВЬ СТОИТЪ БЛГО
 ГОВЕНО СЛУШАЮТЪ БЖІЕ СЛОВО МОЛИТСЯ ПРИЛЕЖНО
 АВЛАЮТСЯ НАИПЧЕ МЛАДЪ ЮНИЦІМЪ ѿБѢЧЕ СІЕ
 ГЛЮТЪ ТОКОМО УСТА ЕДИНЫ ѿВРАДЦЫ МЕЖДУ ТЕМЪ
 РАСПРОСТІРАЮЩА МИСЛИ ѿБСАКИ ПОЛЕЧЕНИАХЪ ДОМА
 ШНИ ИНАГДА ѿПРІОБРЕТЕНІИ БОГАТВА ИНОГДАЖЕ ѿСЛАЗАНІ
 АХЪ СІ РЕЧЬ ѿОЩЕЛАХЪ ИМЕНІА ѿБОГА ѿСЛАДКО ПИЩЕ
 ѿПИТИ И ѿМАХТКОМЪ ЛОЖЕ АИНОГДА ѿКОНАХЪ ѿКЛОАХЪ
 И ѿЗРАДНЫХЪ ВЕРТОГРАДАХЪ ПОМЫСЛИ БЕЗУМНЕ
 НЕСПІАИ БЛЕ СІЕ ЛИЦѢМЪ РА ПРЕДЪ ЕГОМЪ

Примери —

Fig. 6 From *Emblemat dukhovnyi*. Reproduced by permission of Glasgow University Library.

Emblemat dukhovnyi stands at or near the end of the line. Indeed, plate 5 in the Stirling Maxwell copy is an example of one of the replacement plates.

Emblemat dukhovnyi is an enigmatic work. We do not know who its author was, nor do we know why he chose a collection of emblems by the Lutheran theologian Saubert as his model, or indeed what readership he had in mind. But it is the only Russian religious emblem book, and in view of the attempt by the author to amend Saubert's text, though not Peter Isselburg's engravings, one would have to call it Eastern Orthodox in intent, and therefore unique in that sense also.

One late-blooming flower in the small garden of Russian emblem books is the Moscow 1803 edition of Boudard's *Iconologie* first published in Parma in 1759.¹² The copy in the Stirling Maxwell Collection (S.M. 997) is a fine example of this book. It is in two volumes bound in one, each volume having title-pages in both French and Russian. There are seventy-five copperplates each containing three emblems with titles and explanations, but no mottoes, in German, French and Russian.

There is also an extremely rare emblem book in the Stirling Maxwell collection that is entirely in Georgian, but, given the present political situation in the former USSR, it is unlikely the Georgians would wish it to be included in an article about Russian emblem books.

¹² Jean Baptiste Boudard, *Iconologie* (Moscow, 1803).

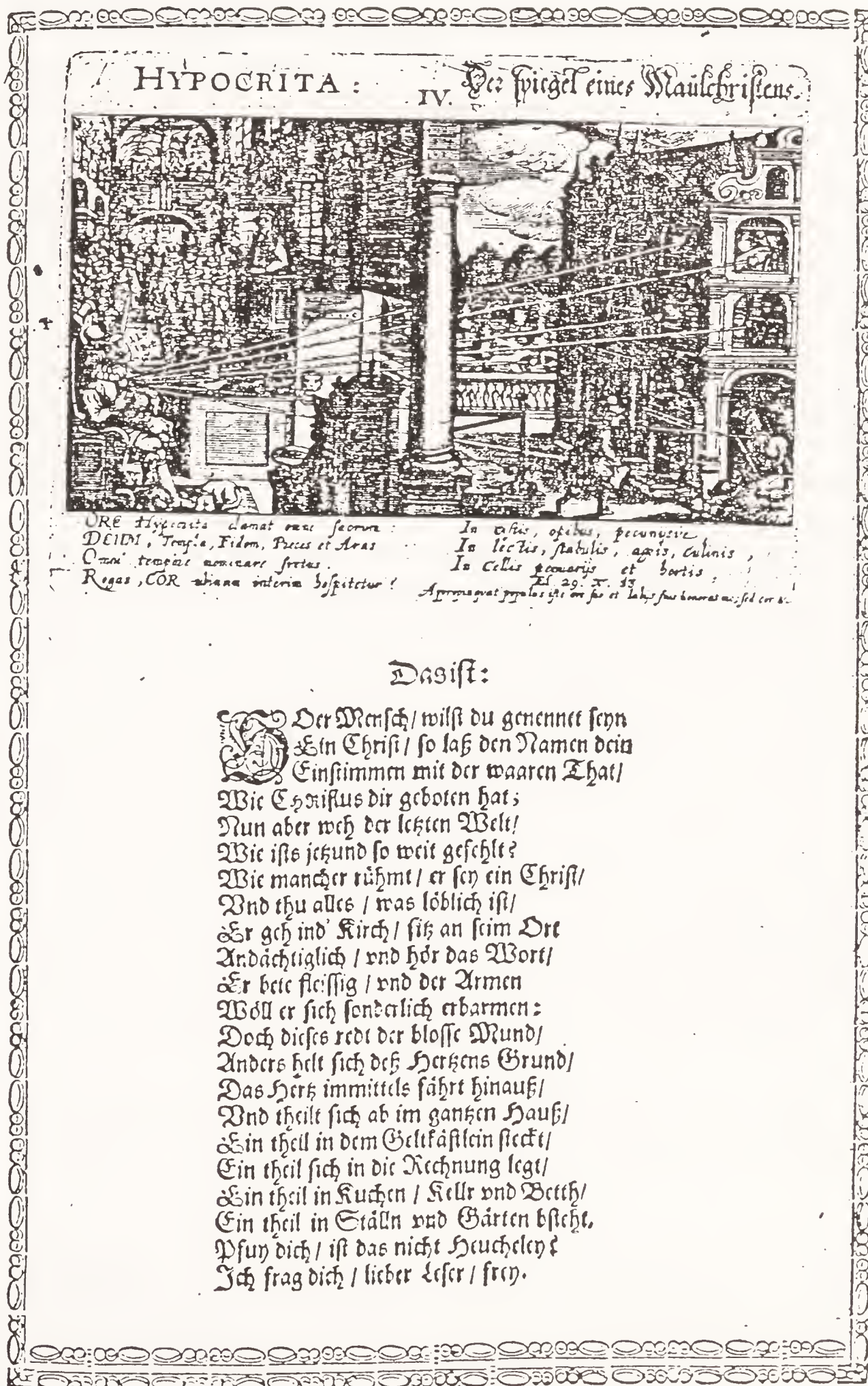


Fig. 7 From J. Saubert, *Emblemata sacra*, Nürnberg 1625. Reproduced by permission of Glasgow University Library.

Полтора месяца из жизни Палаты

Г. В. Михеева

В современных условиях развития страны, чтобы лучше понять настоящее, мы все чаще вглядываемся в наше прошлое. Бесстрастные свидетельства своего времени — архивные документы — сохранили, порой, поистине бесценную летопись жизни тех или иных учреждений, отдельных людей. В этом отношении Петроградской Книжной палате повезло: в Центральном государственном архиве литературы и искусства г. Санкт-Петербурга (ЦГАЛИ СПб) сохранились не просто отдельные документы, а целая подборка связанных между собой материалов, позволяющих воссоздать один из сложных, драматических периодов в жизни Палаты.

Обратимся к ее истории. Как известно, видные ученые, общественные деятели, библиотековеды и библиографы страны неоднократно предлагали проекты упорядочения дела государственной регистрации произведений печати в России.¹ Однако реальная возможность создания специального государственного учреждения, занимающегося в том числе и регистрацией всей выходящей в стране печатной продукции, возникла только после Февральской революции с упразднением Главного управления по делам печати, преследовавшего, главным образом, цензурные функции.² 'Так же, как ни один вопрос государственной и общественной жизни не может быть решен без статистики, он не может быть решен и без библиографических указаний на литературу предмета... В России библиография всегда носила кустарный характер... Новый строй должен отвести почетное место библиографии, которая отныне должна стать делом государственным', — так писали 'Библиографические известия' через несколько дней после Февральской революции.³

16 (29) мая 1917 г. приступила к работе созданная на основе постановления Временного правительства Книжная палата — первое в мире

¹ Об этом подробнее см. *Машикова М. В.* История русской библиографии начала XX века (до октября 1917 года). Москва, 1969, с. 40—44, 55; *Машикова М. В., Сокурова М. В.* Из истории возникновения 'Книжной летописи'. — Советская библиография, 1957, вып. 47, с. 64; *Рожнова В. И.* 'Книговедение' — журнал Московского библиографического кружка. — Книга: Исследования и материалы, 1989, сб. 57, с. 123—124; и др.

² Об учреждениях по делам печати: Постановление Временного правительства от 27 апреля 1917 г. — Собрание узаконений и распоряжений правительства... 1917. 15 (28) мая, № 109, Ст. 598, с. 948—950. Перепечатано многими периодическими изданиями того времени. См., например, Библиографические известия, 1917, № 1/2, с. 74—78 (Хроника).

³ Государственное значение библиографии. — Библиографические известия, 1917, № 1/2, с. 6.

государственное учреждение, созданное специально для регистрации произведений печати.⁴ У ее истоков стояли А. А. Шахматов, С. Ф. Ольденбург, С. А. Венгеров, П. Е. Щеголев, В. И. Срезневский, Б. Л. Модзалевский, Э. А. Вольтер, А. Д. Торопов, Б. П. Гущин, В. И. Чарнолуский, А. М. Ловягин, Е. А. Гейнц, И. А. Кубасов и др.⁵ На пост директора Книжной палаты в Петрограде было несколько кандидатур, но выбор пал на С. А. Венгерова 'как на наиболее заслуженного научного и литературного деятеля, пользовавшегося наибольшей общественной популярностью и имевшего прекрасную общественную репутацию старого убежденного и стойкого социалиста, неоднократно подвергавшегося преследованиям при самодержавном режиме'.⁶

23 мая (5 июня) 1917 г. был утвержден наказ Книжной палаты, в соответствии с которым руководство работой Палаты осуществлялось Президиумом, состоящим из директора и заведующих отделами, а в 'целях содействия полноте научной работы Книжной палаты и поддержания ее на должной высоте' учреждается Совет.⁷ Первый Совет Книжной палаты был организован в следующем составе: директор Палаты — С. А. Венгеров, заведующие ее отделами: А. Д. Торопов (Отдел регистрации печати), Е. А. Гейнц (Бюро международной библиографии по естествознанию и математике), И. А. Кубасов (Книжный фонд); секретарь Палаты — А. Г. Фомин, представители Российской Академии Наук — М. А. Дьяконов, С. Ф. Ольденбург, А. А. Шахматов; Российской Публичной библиотеки — А. И. Браудо, А. Э. Шмидт; Московского Румянцевского музея (представитель не делегирован); Литературно-библиографического института — А. И. Лященко; Русского библиографического общества — Н. М. Лисовский, И. К. Голубев; Одесского библиографического общества — И. А. Линниченко; Общества библиотекосведения — Е. Н. Добржинский, Б. П. Гущин; Всероссийского Земского союза — В. И. Чарнолуский; и Всероссийского Союза городов — Е. Ф. Проскурякова.⁸

На первом заседании Совета Палаты 12 (25) июля 1917 г. был утвержден состав Совета, избраны его председатель (С. Ф. Ольденбург), товарищ председателя (М. А. Дьяконов) и секретарь (А. Г. Фомин).⁹ На 3-м заседании Совета Палаты 6 (19) сентября был утвержден Наказ

⁴ Вестник Временного правительства, 1917. 16 (29) мая, № 55 (101).

⁵ *Фомин А. Г.* С. А. Венгеров как организатор и первый директор Российской Книжной палаты (ныне Института книговедения). Ленинград, 1925, с. 10—15.

⁶ *Фомин* (примечание 5), с. 14.

⁷ Собрание узаконений и распоряжений правительства... 1917, 20 июня (3 июля), № 141, ст. 761.

⁸ Институт русской литературы, Рукописный отдел (далее ИРЛИ РО), ф. 568. Архив А. Г. Фомина, оп. 1, ед. хр. 168, л. 40—41.

⁹ Там же, л. 42—49.

Совету Книжной палаты, определены порядок его работы, функции и обязанности.¹⁰

16 (29) сентября 1917 г. была упразднена Особая комиссия по ликвидации Главного управления по делам печати.¹¹ Встал вопрос о том, в составе какого Министерства Палате целесообразно находиться. На том же 3-м заседании Совета Палаты было решено, что Палата должна войти в состав Министерства народного просвещения как автономное учреждение, но временно в 1917—1918 гг. по предложению С. А. Венгерова решено было войти в состав Министерства внутренних дел, в ведении которого находились губернские и уездные комиссары Временного правительства, отвечавшие за доставку в Палату литературы.¹²

С самого начала задачи, которые ставила перед собой Книжная палата, были весьма многообразны. Она мыслилась ее основателями как научно-библиографическое учреждение, выполняющее целый комплекс библиографических задач. В ее состав вошли Литературно-библиографический институт, основанный С. А. Венгеровым в 1916 г., Бюро международной библиографии по естествознанию и математике, Книжный фонд. Предполагалось ежегодное издание систематических указателей по разным отраслям наук и литературы.¹³ В недрах Палаты разрабатывалась идея создания энциклопедии книговедения, библиографии русской библиографии, репертуара русских книг от начала книгопечатания и списка повременных изданий XX века.¹⁴ Впоследствии в состав Палаты вошла комиссия 'Наука в России', подготовившая справочник такого же названия, издавались и планировались 'Временники Российской Книжной палаты', прорабатывалась новая система классификации литературы.¹⁵ Однако все это было потом. На начальном этапе Палата имела '... первой своей основной задачей собирание печатного материала для регистрирования его в "Книжной летописи" и снабжения новыми

¹⁰ Там же, л. 78—81.

¹¹ Вестник Временного правительства, 1917, 7 (20) окт, № 171 (217).

¹² ИРЛИ РО, ф. 568, оп. 1, ед. хр. 168, л. 74—75.

¹³ Венгеров С. А. Наша задача // *Sertum bibliologicum* в честь президента Русского библиологического общества проф. А. И. Малеина. Петербург, 1922, с. 3.

¹⁴ Государственная публичная библиотека им. М. Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина, Отдел рукописей (далее ГПБ ОР), ф. 316, НИИ книговедения, ед. хр. 15, л. 3.

¹⁵ Об этом подробнее см. в работах: *Фомин* (примечание 5), с. 39—42; [Ильинский Л. К.] Библиографические работы Книжной палаты. — Библиографическое обозрение, 1919, кн. 1, с. 161—164; Российская Книжная палата. — Там же, 1920, кн. 2, с. 261—265; *Калентьева А. Г.* Влюбленный в литературу: очерк жизни и деятельности С. А. Венгерова (1855—1920). Москва, 1964, с. 61—67. Наиболее подробно направления работы Палаты охарактеризованы в 'Отчете академика Н. К. Никольского о деятельности Российской книжной палаты с 27 апреля 1917 г. по 1 декабря 1920 г.' (опубл. И. Ф. Мартыновым в 'Советской библиографии', 1967, № 3, с. 226—234). На самом деле отчет был составлен А. Г. Фоминым (ИРЛИ РО, ф. 568. Архив А. Г. Фомина, оп. 1, ед. хр. 169, л. 256).

книгами государственных книгохранилищ...'.¹⁶ Палата продолжила издание созданной еще в 1907 г. 'Книжной летописи', которую К. Н. Дерунов по праву назвал 'самым ценным приобретением русской новейшей (с конца 70-х годов [XIX в.]) специальной журналистики и всей библиографии нашей вообще'.¹⁷

Как справедливо было отмечено в свое время М. В. Машковой в отношении 'Книжной летописи', с февраля 1917 г. полностью и навсегда 'Летопись' утратила ранее присущие ей цензурные функции.¹⁸ Это же было справедливо и в отношении созданной Книжной палаты, с самого начала преследовавшей лишь научно-библиографические функции и призванной играть заметную культурно-историческую роль.¹⁹ В межреволюционный период Палата предпринимала энергичные действия к сбору и регистрации всей выходившей в стране печатной продукции. С первого дня открытия Книжной палаты С. А. Венгеров неоднократно публикует обращения к губернским комиссарам Временного правительства, издательствам, редакторам, сотрудникам периодических изданий, работникам типографий, участникам различных политических организаций, съездов, конференций, писателям, ученым, всем любителям книжного дела, разъясняя культурно-просветительские цели регистрации.²⁰

В октябре 1917 г. Палата обратилась в Министерство внутренних дел с ходатайством о присвоении ей наименования 'Государственная Книжная палата'.²¹ Наступило 25 октября (7 ноября) 1917 г.... Далее следуем по архивным материалам.²²

Из 'Протокола 6-го заседания Совета Книжной палаты 22 ноября 1917 г.': '... после ареста членов Временного Правительства и насильственного захвата власти "большевиками", 27 октября состоялось общее

¹⁶ Венгеров С. А. Наша задача (примечание 13), с. 2—3.

¹⁷ Дерунов К. Н. Жизненные задачи библиографии. (Итоги и уроки прошлого русской библиографии за 200 лет). — Библиографические известия, 1913, № 2, с. 114.

¹⁸ Машкова М. В. (примечание 1), с. 59.

¹⁹ Безусловно, Палата, хотя и считалась автономным учреждением, не была полностью независима в своих действиях. Сколь бы ни стремилась она оказаться вне политики даже в сложный межреволюционный период, ей это не удавалось. Так, в августе Палатой по запросу товарища министра внутренних дел С. Н. Салтыкова был составлен список периодических изданий в зависимости от их политической группировки и степени их распространения в связи с этим (Центральный государственный архив литературы и искусства г. Санкт-Петербурга (далее ЦГАЛИ СПб), ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 7, л. 20).

²⁰ От Книжной палаты: [Обращение от 1 (14) июня 1917 г.]. Петроград, 1917. 4 с.; От Книжной палаты: Обращение к изд-вам [от 26 июля (8 авг.) 1917 г.]. — Книжная летопись, 1917, № 29/30, с. 16; То же. [Петроград, 1917]. 1 л.

²¹ ГПБ ОР, ф. 316, НИИ книговедения, ед. хр. 6, л. 15 об.

²² При приведении архивных документов мы старались соблюдать не только хронологическую последовательность, но и отразить порядок следования их в архиве, в определенной степени напоминающий своего рода летопись. Даты в документах приводятся по старому стилю.

собрание сотрудников Книжной Палаты, которое единогласно вынесло следующую... резолюцию...'²³

Документ первый.

‘Служащие Книжной Палаты, обсудив в своем собрании современное общее положение Петрограда, решили не подчиняться органам и распоряжениям, исходящим от партии, самовольно и путем мятежа захватившей власть.

Служащие Книжной Палаты всецело присоединяются к постановлению служащих ряда правительственных учреждений и приостанавливают свою работу на время отсутствия законной власти.²⁴

Вместе с тем служащие Книжной Палаты приветствуют инициативу Городского Самоуправления в деле создания Комитета Общественного Спасения, признавая его своим руководителем в эти дни бесконтрольного правления безответственных лиц.

Директор Книжной Палаты
С. Венгеров

27 окт. 1917.’²⁵

Из ‘Протокола 6-го заседания Совета Книжной Палаты...’: ‘... вынося приведенную выше резолюцию, сотрудники Книжной Палаты тем не менее считали недопустимым прекратить полностью по политическим мотивам свою культурную деятельность и продолжали, частью на дому, частью в помещении Палаты, выполнять некоторые неотложные работы, как например: собирание и регистрацию Петроградских периодических изданий, переставших поступать в Палату, прием и разборку приходящей в Палату корреспонденции и т.д....’²⁶

1 ноября явился в Книжную Палату И. В. Егоров²⁷ за получением

²³ ЦГАЛИ СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 7, л. 80.

²⁴ Как известно, в знак протеста против захвата власти большевиками в первые послереволюционные дни многие чиновники и служащие прибегли к саботажу. Вслед за ними к забастовке присоединились и рабочие и служащие некоторых типографий. Поводом послужило принятие Советом Народных Комиссаров на третий день революции 27 октября (9 ноября) 1917 г. ‘Декрета о печати’. (Культурное строительство в РСФСР, 1917—1927, т. 1, ч. 1. Документы и материалы, 1917—1920. Москва, 1983, с. 253.)

²⁵ ЦГАЛИ СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 2, л. 118. Текст машинописный, подлинник.

²⁶ Там же, д. 7, л. 81.

²⁷ Егоров Иван Васильевич (1887—1971). Октябрьская революция застала его на службе в Книжной палате, куда он поступил 11 (24) сентября 1917 г. Там же работала и его жена Т. Д. Хрусталева. (ЦГАЛИ СПб, д. 4, л. 25—26 об.) В ноябре 1917 г. он был назначен комиссаром Академии наук, в декабре — правительственным комиссаром отдела высших учебных заведений, решительно выступал против саботажа старой интеллигенции. (Подробно о нем см.: Герои Октября. Ленинград, 1967, т. 1, с. 357—359.) В 1980 г. выпущена книга его воспоминаний ‘От монархии к Октябрю’ (Ленинград, 1980), где он описывает в том числе и события, происходившие в эти дни в Палате. По воспоминаниям И. В. Егорова, он 9 (22)

суточных денег вместо своей жены Т. Д. Хрустальной, служащей в Палате. Узнав от директора Палаты С. А. Венгерова, что сотрудники Палаты не получают суточных денег в виду забастовки служащих в государственных учреждениях, И. В. Егоров заявил о том, что он разделяет воззрения 'большевиков', сочувствует их деятельности и протестует против приведенной выше резолюции сотрудников Палаты, вынесенной собранием, на которое не были посланы приглашения всем сотрудникам Палаты. На это С. А. Венгеров ответил И. В. Егорову, что собрание состоялось в обычное время занятий, когда все сотрудники Палаты обязаны быть в ней.

... вслед за этим он [Венгеров] получил письмо от жены И. В. Егорова Т. Д. Хрустальной, в котором она протестует против резолюции общего собрания сотрудников Книжной Палаты 27 октября...

10 ноября, в 12-м часу ночи, С. А. Венгеров был вызван к телефону. Лицо, назвавшееся секретарем Совета Народных Комиссаров, заявило, что в Совет пришло несколько служащих Книжной Палаты, сообщивших о забастовке сотрудников Палаты, препятствующей им продолжать работу. Вместе с тем указанное лицо обратилось к С. А. Венгерову с вопросом, на каком основании Книжная Палата примкнула к забастовке служащих в государственных учреждениях. С. А. Венгеров ответил, что он не считает возможным говорить по этому вопросу по телефону и что если представители Совета Народных Комиссаров желают разговаривать с ним, то они должны бы это сделать, явившись к нему лично.

В виду заявления Т. Д. Хрустальной и лица, назвавшегося секретарем Совета Народных Комиссаров, о том, что в числе сотрудников Книжной Палаты имеются протестующие против поведения большинства, С. А. Венгеров счел себя обязанным, как директор Палаты созвать новое общее собрание сотрудников Палаты, послав им всем соответствующее приглашение. Это собрание состоялось 14-го ноября в присутствии почти всех служащих Книжной Палаты, в том числе и курьеров... В начале общего собрания сотрудников Книжной Палаты 14-го ноября С. А. Венгеров сообщил, не называя фамилий, о посещении его И. В. Егоровым, письме Т. Д. Хрустальной... и передал содержание разговора по телефону с лицом, назвавшимся секретарем Совета Народных Комиссаров. Вслед за сообщением С. А. Венгерова выступил И. В. Егоров,

ноября 1917 г. пришел в Смольный к секретарю Совнаркома Н. П. Горбунову, который тогда же назначил Егорова правительственным комиссаром в Палату. (Указ. соч. с. 236.) Однако установить, состоялось ли действительно назначение правительственным комиссаром Егорова ни по ЦГАЛИ СПб, ни на основании личного фонда И. В. Егорова и его жены Т. И. Немчиновой (Хрустальной), который хранится в Доме Плеханова (ГПБ ОР, ф. 273, И. В. Егоров), не удалось.

заявивший, что он 'дones в "Смольный" о Книжной Палате. Слушая И. В. Егорова с должным вниманием, не перебивая его, сотрудники Книжной Палаты после его заявления о доносе отказались выслушать его далее и потребовали удаления с собрания. В виду отказа И. В. Егорова покинуть собрание, сотрудники Книжной Палаты после перерыва заседания собрались в другом зале Палаты и, обсудив вопрос о текущем моменте и о своем отношении к нему, вынесли следующую, прочитанную С. А. Венгеровым резолюцию...' ²⁸

Документ второй.

'Общее собрание служащих Книжной Палаты в заседании своем 14 ноября 1917 года, обсудив вопрос о текущем моменте и о своем отношении к нему, постановило:

Служащие Книжной Палаты в оценке современного политического положения остаются на точке зрения своей резолюции 27 октября 1917 года и подтверждают, что не считают возможным признавать захватную [так!] власть и ее исполнителей; но, признавая работу Книжной Палаты работой культурной, которая не может быть связана с целями и задачами политики, а прежде всего обслуживает научные нужды, служащие возобновляют свою научную деятельность и приступают к занятиям.

Вместе с тем служащие Книжной Палаты заявляют, что при первой же попытке захватной власти и ее исполнителей вмешиваться в жизнь и деятельность Палаты, как учреждения автономного, они совершенно прекращают всякую работу.

С. Венгеров, А. Фомин, А. Поляков, А. Шилов, А. Торопов, [1 подпись нрзб.], Т. Холодилина, С. Казанский, [1 подпись нрзб.], Е. Гейдрих, А. Веселовская, А. Одинец-Шилова, А. Александров, [2 подписи нрзб.], Ал. Слонимский, П. Новицкая, Н. Яковлев, М. Клеман, С. Козлова, Н. Пивоварская, Г. Никольская, [1 подпись нрзб.], Вл. Буш, А. Пономарев, Л. Ильинский, С. Балухатый, С. Бонди.' ²⁹

Из 'Протокола 6-го заседания Совета Книжной Палаты...': 'Эта резолюция была принята всеми присутствовавшими на собрании сотрудниками Книжной Палаты, за исключением одного, подавшего особое мнение. Вместе с тем сотрудники Книжной Палаты, не считая возможным иметь в своей среде доносчика, постановили на том собрании просить Президиум Палаты исключить И. В. Егорова из числа ее служащих.' ³⁰

²⁸ ЦГАЛИ СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 7, л. 81—82.

²⁹ ЦГАЛИ СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 2, л. 120. Текст машинописный, подлинник.

³⁰ ЦГАЛИ СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 7, л. 82—83.

Документ третий.

‘Особое мнение

Не согласен с постановлением Общего Собрания по двум причинам. Во-первых, не считаю правильной тактику бойкота и изолирования большевиков. Во-вторых, вынося свое постановление, Книжная Палата определенно склоняет свой моральный авторитет в пользу противников известной политической группы (большевиков), и тем самым совершает *политический поступок*, от какого в качестве автономно-культурного учреждения она должна воздержаться.

19 $\frac{17}{11}$ 17

И. Мароз’ ³¹

Документ четвертый.

‘Сотрудники Книжной Палаты, не считая возможным иметь в своей среде И. В. Егорова, в виду его публичного заявления о том, что он донес на них в Совет Народных Комиссаров, постановили на общем собрании 14-го ноября 1917 г. просить Президиум Палаты исключить И. В. Егорова из числа сотрудников Палаты.

А. Фомин, Л. Ильинский, [1 подпись нрзб.], С. Козлова, [2 подписи нрзб.], А. Александров, А. Веселовская, А. Шилов, П. Новицкая, А. Торопов, [2 подписи нрзб.], С. Казанский, [1 подпись нрзб.], А. Пономарев, С. Балухатый, Р. Казарновская, Г. Никольская, Н. Пивоварская, Е. Шилова, Е. Гейнц, [2 подписи нрзб.], Е. Гейдрих, В. Красногорский, Вл. Буш, Н. Цветков, А. Одинец-Шилова, Ал. Слонимский, С. Бонди, М. Клеман, Н. Яковлев, Е. Сазонова.’ ³²

Из ‘Протокола 6-го заседания Совета Книжной Палаты...’: ‘18-го ноября явился в Книжную Палату Народный комиссар по внутренним делам Г. Петровский³³ в сопровождении трех оставшихся неизвестными лиц и обошел помещение Палаты с целью, как он заявил, установить работают ли сотрудники Палаты. Ознакомленный с приведенной выше резолюцией общего собрания сотрудников Книжной Палаты 14 ноября, Г. Петровский заявил, что вмешательство в жизни Палаты, о котором

³¹ ЦГАЛИ СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 2, л. 122. Текст рукописный, подлинник. Впервые приведен в комментариях к публикации И. Ф. Мартынова ‘Книжная палата в первые годы Советской власти, 1917—1920 гг.: (Материалы, хранящиеся в Ленинградском Государственном архиве Октябрьской революции и социалистического строительства)’ (Советская библиография, 1967, 3, с. 234). Исак Шмеркович Мароз был принят в Палату 22 сентября (5 октября) 1917 г. картописателем, т.е. библиографом-каталогизатором (ЦГАЛИ СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 4, л. 27 об.).

³² ЦГАЛИ СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 2, л. 121—121 об. Текст машинописный, подписи подлинные. Просьба сотрудников была удовлетворена на 21-м заседании Президиума Палаты 3 (16) декабря 1917 г. (д. 4, л. 36).

³³ Петровский Григорий Иванович (1878—1958) — нарком внутренних дел с ноября 1917 г. по март 1919 г.

говорится в этой резолюции, может считаться состоявшимся и что сотрудники Палаты увольняются им со службы.’³⁴

Документ пятый.

‘20-го ноября 1917 г. в Книжную палату в сопровождении вооруженных матросов явился представитель Военно-Революционного Комитета Залуцкий³⁵ и, предъявив предписание, потребовал сдачи всех дел, ключей и т.п.

Директор Палаты заявил, что: 1) “сдавать” Книжной Палате нечего. Кассы у Книжной Палаты нет, и средства для своей работы она получала из Особой Комиссии по ликвидации Главного Управления по делам печати, состоявшей при Канцелярии Министра Председателя, а в октябре — из Министерства Внутренних Дел.

По существу дела Директор разъяснил представителю Военно-Революционного Комитета, что Книжная Палата ведет свою научную работу подобно Академии Наук, Публичной Библиотеке, музеям и другим научным учреждениям, и будет впредь ее вести, — если только поставленные в настоящее время у входа Книжной Палаты матросы штыками не заградят путь. 2) Книжная Палата есть учреждение чисто *научное*, а в силу этого *беспартийное*. Она собирает произведения печати, распределяет их по государственным книгохранилищам, печатает списки новых книг в “Книжной Летописи” и подготавливает научные ежегодники по всем отраслям знания. 3) Книжная Палата *автономна* в своей деятельности, и, как раньше, работа ее никому не была подчинена, так и теперь она не может быть подчиненной: как не подчинена, например, научная работа Метеорологической Обсерватории. 4) Ни Директор, ни секретариат Книжной Палаты не принимают важных решений без ведома Совета Палаты, который имеет чисто общественный характер и состоит из выборных представителей Академии Наук, Публичной Библиотеки, Московского Румянцевского Музея, Литературно-Библиографического Института, Русского Библиологического Общества, Библиографических Обществ при Московском и Одесском Университетах и от Всероссийского Союза Земств и Городов.

Что касается требуемой представителем Военно-Революционного Комитета подписки, то Директор разъяснил: 1) что сотрудники Книжной

³⁴ ЦГАЛИ СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 7, л. 88.

³⁵ Залуцкий Петр Антонович (1887—1937). Член партии с 1907 г., участник Октябрьской революции в Петрограде. В октябрьские дни — член Петроградского ВРК, комиссар 6-го саперного полка. Участник гражданской войны. Впоследствии видный партийный и хозяйственный деятель. Член ЦК партии в 1923—25 гг., член ВЦИК. По обвинению в участии в ‘Ленинградской контрреволюционной зиновьевской группе Сафарова, Залуцкого и других’ 10 января 1937 г. приговорен к расстрелу. Реабилитирован в сентябре 1962 г. (Известия ЦК КПСС, 1990, № 1, с. 40, 43, 47—48.)

Палаты, считая себя работниками чисто научного учреждения, имеющего целью обслуживать нужды научного знания, продолжают свою работу. 2) Что являясь работниками автономно общественного учреждения, они не могут признать вмешательства в их работу и в жизнь учреждения посторонних лиц. 3) Что являясь работниками научного учреждения, они стоят в своей работе вне партийных взглядов и убеждений, и их личные убеждения не должны подлежать какому-либо контролю при свободе политических воззрений.

Со своей стороны сотрудники Книжной Палаты заявили, что какая-либо подписка, касающаяся признания власти совета народных комиссаров противна их совести и убеждению.

Получив эти сведения, представитель Военно-Революционного³⁶ Комитета временно удалился, причем все сотрудники Книжной Палаты оказались арестованными.

По возвращении представитель Военно-Революционного Комитета заявил, что Книжная Палата должна приостановить свою работу до созыва Совета Палаты.

Сотрудники Книжной Палаты, ознакомившись с ходом событий 20 ноября 1917 г. решительно протестуют против насилия над ними, выразившегося в занятии входа в Палату матросами и задержании всех, находившихся в помещении Палаты лиц, — и заявляют, что такое вмешательство физической силы является грубым нарушением прав автономного учреждения, — заявление же представителя Военно-Революционного Комитета о прекращении занятий Палаты является в силу ее автономности для сотрудников совершенно необязательным, и они продолжают свою работу.³⁷

Изложение событий считаю правильным, что же касается ареста всех служащих, то такое произошло в связи с тем, что я своевременно не отдал распоряжение о выпуске лиц из помещения Книжной Палаты, распоряжений об аресте кого бы то ни было из отдела я не делал ни каких, так как это не вызывалось необходимостью. П. Залуцкий.³⁸

[Подписи:] С. Венгеров, А. Фомин, С. Бонди, М. Клеман, Г. Никольская, Е. Гейнц, С. Балухатый, С. Козлова, Сазонова, И. Мароз, Вл. Буш, Недзвецкий, А. Пономарев, Е. Гейдрих, А. Шилов, Р. Казарновская, Н. Пивоварская, А. Александров, П. Новицкая, Цветков, Н. Яковлев, Гейдукевич, А. Ракович, Т. Холодилина, С. Казанский, А. Одинец-Шилова, Л. Ильинский, А. Поляков, А. Веселовский, Е. Шилова, О.

³⁶ В первоначальном варианте написано со строчных букв, исправлено чернилами, по-видимому, рукой П. А. Залуцкого.

³⁷ Эта часть документа — машинописная с незначительными рукописными поправками.

³⁸ Вся эта часть текста написана рукой П. А. Залуцкого. Сохранена орфография подлинника.

Болдырев, [1 подпись нрзб.], В. Бермандт, Быков.’³⁹

На собрании служащих Палаты 20 ноября было принято следующее постановление.

Документ шестой.

‘Служащие Книжной Палаты считают себя сотрудниками чисто научного учреждения, имеющего целью обслуживать нужды научного знания, продолжают свою работу:

Являясь работниками автономно-общественного учреждения, они не могут признать вмешательства в их работу и жизнь учреждения посторонних лиц; —

Являясь работниками научного учреждения они стоят в своей работе вне партийных взглядов и убеждений.

Их личные взгляды и убеждения не должны подлежать какому-либо контролю при свободе политических воззрений; в силу этого сотрудники Книжной Палаты заявляют, что какая-либо подписка, касающаяся признания власти совета народных комиссаров противна их совести и убеждению, тем более, что она не может быть поставлена на связь с характером работы в научном, вполне автономном учреждении.’⁴⁰

События 14—20 ноября 1917 г. попали в печать. В ‘Известиях общества служащих в печатных заведениях’ они названы ‘вопиющим нарушением прав автономного учреждения’.⁴¹

Документ седьмой.

‘Совет Народных
Комиссаров
Петроград
20 ноября 1917.

Копия

От Народного Комиссара
по внутренним делам

Все чиновники и служащие всех отделов бывшего Министерства Внутренних Дел, бросившие работу, считаются уволенными с того дня, когда они бросили работу. Служащие, оставшиеся на своих местах, сохраняют прежнюю должность за собою. Новый прием служащих будет производиться 23 ноября с.г. с 12 ч. дня в Департаменте общих дел.

³⁹ ЦГАЛИ СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 2, л. 123—124 об. Подлинник. Копии и варианты документа также хранятся в ЦГАЛИ СПб (д. 5, ‘О требованиях, предъявленных к Книжной Палате представителем Военно-Революционного Комитета и протесте, заявленном сотрудниками Палаты в связи с этими требованиями’, 16 л.).

⁴⁰ ЦГАЛИ, СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 5, л. 9. Текст машинописный. Подлинник.

⁴¹ Разгон Книжной палаты. — Известия общества служащих в печатных заведениях, 1917, № 61/62, с. 743.

Начальникам всех отделов и казначеям предписывается явиться к тому времени для сдачи своих дел.

Саботирующие чиновники, занимающие казенные квартиры, должны очистить их к 27 ноября с.г.

Печать Народный Комиссар по Внутренним делам Г. Петровский.⁴²

Документ восьмой.

‘Копия

Указания

Всех служащих не давших подписью своего согласия в признании власти Народных Комиссаров, в среду 22 ноября 1917 г. не допускать к занятиям, если на это не последует соответствующего особого распоряжения от Народного Комиссара по Внутренним Дела.

Давших вышеуказанную подпись к занятиям допустить.

Член Военно-Революционного Ком. при Ц.И.К.

Советов П. Залуцкий

С подлинным верно: пом. секретаря Книжной палаты А. Шилов

“Указания” были даны швейцару 20 ноября П. Залуцким.⁴³

Документ девятый.

‘Копия

Подписка

Мы нижеподписавшиеся служащие бывшего Мин. Вн. Дел признаем власть Совета Народных Комиссаров и подчиняемся всем распоряжениям комиссара по Внутренним Дела, касающихся ведомства, в котором мы состоим на службе.

С подлинным верно: пом. секретаря Книжной Палаты — А. Шилов

“Подписка” была П. Залуцким передана швейцару 20.XI. и последним 22 ноября предъявлялась всем пришедшим сотрудникам Книжной Палаты.⁴⁴

Документ десятый.

‘22 ноября 1917 г. сотрудникам Книжной Палаты, явившимся на занятия, была предъявлена швейцаром бумага, подписанная членом Военно-Революционного Комитета Залуцким, в которой было указано, что служащие в Палате могут приступить к работе лишь тогда, когда

⁴² ЦГАЛИ СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 2, л. 125.

⁴³ ЦГАЛИ СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 2, л. 126. Документ представлен в копии, весь текст написан рукой А. А. Шилова.

⁴⁴ ЦГАЛИ СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 2, л. 127. Документ представлен в копии, весь текст написан рукой А. А. Шилова.

дадут подписку в признании власти Народных Комиссаров. Сотрудники Палаты, основываясь на постановлении, принятом на общем собрании 20 ноября 1917 г., не давая указанной выше подписки, приступили к занятиям.

Секретарь Книжной Палаты
пом. Секретаря Книжной Палаты

А. Фомин
А. Шилов
А. Поляков, Александров, Л.
Ильинский, Вл. Буш.⁴⁵

Документ одиннадцатый.

‘Выслушав сообщение Директора Книжной Палаты и протокол событий, имевших место 20 ноября 1917 г. в означенной Палате, в связи с предъявлением сотрудникам Палаты требований о выдаче подписки в признании власти Народных комиссаров, Совет Книжной Палаты, в своем заседании 22 ноября с.г. постановил:

- 1) Признать действия личного состава Книжной Палаты правильными;
- 2) признать предъявление сотрудникам Книжной Палаты означенных требований незаконным и
- 3) выразить глубокое возмущение против возможности какого бы то ни было насильственного перерыва работы Книжной Палаты, исполняющей культурную работу огромной важности и являющейся автономным и чисто научным учреждением.

Представители Российской Академии Наук Сергей Ольденбург, А. Шахматов. Представитель Российской Публичной Библиотеки А. Браудо. Представитель Русского Библиологического Общества А. Малеин. Представитель Литературно-библиографического института А. Лященко. Представитель Общеземского Союза В. Чарнолуский. Представитель Всероссийского Союза Городов Е. Проскурякова.

22 ноября 1917 г.⁴⁶

Документ двенадцатый.

‘23 ноября 1917 г. сотрудники Книжной Палаты, явившись в обычное время на работу, застали двери в помещении Книжной Палаты закрытыми. По наведенным справкам оказалось, что представитель Военно-Революционного Комитета в Палате 23 ноября не будет.

В виду этого сотрудники Книжной Палаты были лишены возможности приступить к занятиям, выразить свой протест против насильственного

⁴⁵ ЦГАЛИ СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 2, л. 128. Текст рукописный, составлен рукой А. Г. Фомина. Подлинник. Все подписи подлинные.

⁴⁶ ЦГАЛИ СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 2, л. 129. Текст машинописный, подлинник. В конце текста подписи в машинописи, на отдельном листе (л. 130) подлинные подписи с указанием представительства.

перерыва занятий и сдать имущество Книжной Палаты под соответствующую расписку.

Секретарь Книжной Палаты А. Фомин. Помощник секретаря Книжной Палаты А. Шилов, С. Балухатый, Никольская, [1 подпись нрзб.], К. Гофман, Сазонова, С. Бонди, Р. Казарновская, И. Мароз, А. Веселовская, Е. Гейдрих, Н. Пивоварская, М. Клеман, А. Одинец-Шилова, А. Поляков, Л. Ильинский.⁴⁷

Документ тринадцатый.

‘23 ноября 1917 г. в два часа дня, после ухода большинства сотрудников, когда в помещении Книжной Палаты оставались только помощн. секретаря Палаты А. Шилов⁴⁸ и картописательница А. М. Одинец-Шилова,⁴⁹ в сопровождении отряда красногвардейцев появился пом. комиссара по внутр. делам Держинский [так!] и потребовал удаления из Книжной Палаты сотрудников на том основании, что работа может производиться только с разрешения Комиссара по внутренним делам и после признания власти Совета Народных Комиссаров. На требования пом. секретаря А. А. Шилова — выдать удостоверение, что работа Палаты прервана насильственно, пом. комиссара отказался это сделать, указав, что по имеющимся у него сведениям сотрудники Палаты только собирались, но не работали, и выдал удостоверение, что без разрешения Комиссара работа производиться не может. В виду того, что требование удалиться было подтверждено вооруженною силою, сотрудники Книжной Палаты, уступая насилию, должны были прервать свою работу и удалиться из помещения Палаты.

Пом. секретаря А. Шилов. А. Одинец-Шилова.⁵⁰

Документ четырнадцатый.

‘Сим удостоверяю, что без согласия Народного Комиссара по Внутренним Делах никто не может работать в Книжной Палате (Морская, 61), находящейся в ведомстве Народного Комиссара.

Член Коллегии при Нар. Комиссаре по Внутренним Делах Ф. Держинский.

23.XI.1917 г.⁵¹

⁴⁷ ЦГАЛИ СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 2, л. 131—131 об. Текст рукописный, составлен рукой А. А. Шилова, подлинник. Подписи подлинные.

⁴⁸ Шилов Алексей Алексеевич (1881—1942) — историк, археограф, библиограф; с 1904 г. сотрудник С. А. Венгерова в его работе над биографическими словарями.

⁴⁹ Одинец-Шилова Анна Михайловна (? — 1928) — жена А. А. Шилова, сотрудница С. А. Венгерова с начала 900-х гг.

⁵⁰ ЦГАЛИ СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 2, л. 132. Текст рукописный. Подлинник рукой А. А. Шилова.

⁵¹ ЦГАЛИ СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 2, л. 133. Текст рукописный, подлинник.

Из 'Протокола 7-го заседания Совета Книжной Палаты 3 декабря 1917 г.': '... С. А. Венгеров сообщил, что, придя в Книжную палату 23 ноября, после того, как все сотрудники были принуждены покинуть ее, он был арестован находившимися в Палате красногвардейцами, заявившими о том, что он должен быть препровожден в Совет Народных Комиссаров. Только после настойчивого требования от красногвардейцев ордера на арест и переговоров их по телефону с одним из народных комиссаров, С. А. Венгеров был отпущен.'⁵²

Документ пятнадцатый.

‘Совет Народных Комиссаров

Директору Книжной Палаты
Гражданину Венгерову

Петроград
28 ноября 1917 г.
№

Народный Комиссар по Просвещению

Узнав о роспуске Книжной Палаты, которая, в качестве научного института, лишь по недоразумению числилась за Министерством внутренних дел, я просил Гражданина Народного Комиссара по Внутренним Делам передать Книжную Палату в ведомство Народного Просвещения, что в настоящее время и состоялось.

Мне прекрасно известно то настроение, которое царит в Книжной Палате и та классовая враждебность, с которой ее члены относятся к Рабочему и Крестьянскому Правительству.

Однако, стараясь совершенно отвлечься от политического ее направления, считаясь лишь с ее культурной и научной ценностью, я решаюсь открыть вновь Книжную Палату, как учреждение автономное.

О всех вопросах, решение которых так или иначе затрагивает Правительство, прошу Вас, уважаемый гражданин, сноситься лично со мной.

Видеть меня можно в Министерстве Народного Просвещения ежедневно от 3-х до 4-х часов.

Народный комиссар по просвещению А. В. Луначарский.’⁵³

⁵² ЦГАЛИ СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 7, л. 88.

⁵³ ЦГАЛИ СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 2, л. 134. Текст машинописный, подлинник. Подписи подлинные. Впервые опубли.: Грин Ц. И. Ленинский декрет о библиографии как основа советского законодательства об обязательном экземпляре. — Труды Государственной публичной библиотеки, 1960, т. 8 (11), с. 35.

‘О переходе книжной палаты в ведение Народного Комиссариата по просвещению.

Числящаяся за министерством внутренних дел Книжная Палата постановлением Коллегии при Народном Комиссаре по внутренним делам переходит в ваше ведение.

Народный комиссар по вн. делам Г. Петровский.

Секретарь Совета Нар. Ком. Горбунов.’⁵⁴

Документ шестнадцатый.

‘Совет Народных Комиссаров

Ко всем революционным властям

Петроград

28 ноября 1917 г.

№ 102

Народный Комиссар по Просвещению

Я, Народный Комиссар по Просвещению, настоящим подтверждаю, что автономная Книжная Палата может производить свои работы совершенно беспрепятственно.

Вместе с тем, подчеркиваю, что из ведомства Внутренних Дел Палата эта переведена в ведомство Просвещения.

Народный Комиссар по Просвещению А. В. Луначарский

Старший Секретарь Дм. Лещенко.’⁵⁵

Из письма помощника секретаря Совета Палаты А. А. Шилова В. В. Бушу:⁵⁶

‘30.IX.1917

Дорогой Владимир Владимирович!

Вчера Семен Афан.⁵⁷ получил письмо от Луначарского, в котором последний пишет, что по соглашению с Петровским, он перевел Книжную Палату в Мин. Нар. Просв., т.к. она находилась в М. Вн. Дел по

⁵⁴ Собрание узаконений и распоряжений правительства, 1917, № 6, 30 нояб., ст. 104.

⁵⁵ ЦГАЛИ СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 2, л. 136. Текст машинописный, подлинник. Подписи подлинные.

⁵⁶ Буш Владимир Владимирович (1888—1934) — историк литературы, приват-доцент Санктпетербургского университета, библиограф Книжной палаты и редактор ‘Книжной летописи’ с 10 октября 1917 г.

⁵⁷ Семен Афанасьевич Венгеров.

недоразумению. Затем, он, считая, что Палата исполняет культ. работу открывает ее и предоставляет ей автономные права и просит С. А. зайти к нему — поговорить о подробностях. Я передаю смысл письма, но не точно его выражения.⁵⁸

Ситуация, сложившаяся в Палате, стала широко известной.

Документ семнадцатый.

‘Президиуму Книжной Палаты

По постановлению экстренной сессии Государственного Комитета по народному образованию,⁵⁹ прошу передать работникам Палаты глубокое возмущение членов Комитета, вызванное сообщением о насильственном перерыве научной деятельности Книжной Палаты.

Председатель Бюро В. Чарнолуский⁶⁰

1 декабря 1917 г.’⁶¹

Из ‘Протокола 7-го заседания Совета Книжной Палаты...’:

‘Обсудив письмо Народного Комиссара по просвещению А. В. Луначарского к Директору Книжной Палаты С. А. Венгеру от 28 ноября 1917 г. Совет Книжной Палаты, не считая возможным признать власть Совета Народных Комиссаров, не пользующегося всеобщим признанием, и находя недопустимым вмешательство Членов этого Совета в жизнь Палаты, являющейся автономным учреждением, постановил: игнорировать указанное выше письмо Народного Комиссара по просвещению А. В. Луначарского и протестовать против сделанного им в этом письме указания на проявление классовых чувств сотрудниками Палаты, исполняющими научную и культурную работу, которая по существу своему чужда политики.

Вместе с тем, принимая во внимание, что работа Книжной Палаты была прекращена насильно за отказ сотрудников ее дать подписку в

⁵⁸ ГПБ ОР, ф. 117. Архив В. В. Буша, ед. хр. 239, л. 1—2.

⁵⁹ Государственный комитет по народному образованию был создан в первые дни после свержения самодержавия для разработки законопроектов, направленных на улучшение постановки образования в России. Он состоял из представителей исполнительных органов демократических организаций и Государственной Думы. Первое время рабоче-крестьянское правительство надеялось на возможность сотрудничества Комитета с созданной 29 октября (11 ноября) 1917 г. Государственной комиссией по просвещению (Собрание узаконений и распоряжений рабоче-крестьянского правительства, 1917, № 2, ст. 16). Однако все попытки привлечь Комитет к сотрудничеству оказались тщетными, и 20 ноября (3 декабря) 1917 г. Комитет был распущен. (Об этом подробнее см. *Кейрим-Маркус М. Б. Государственное руководство культурой. Строительство Наркомпроса* (нояб. 1917—середина 1918 гг.), Москва 1980, с. 18—23.)

⁶⁰ Чарнолуский Владимир Иванович (1865—1941) — педагог, общественный деятель, член Совета Палаты от Всероссийского земского союза, с 1921 г. — в Наркомпросе.

⁶¹ ЦГАЛИ СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 2, л. 138. См. также Известия Общества служащих в печатных заведениях, 1917, № 61/62, с. 743.

признании власти Совета Народных Комиссаров, что в настоящее время устранены физические препятствия к продолжению этой работы, Совет Книжной Палаты нашел возможным: предложить сотрудникам Палаты возобновить занятия, если Совет Народных Комиссаров откажется от всякого вмешательства в автономную по существу научную и культурную работу Палаты и от требования от сотрудников ее подписки в признании власти Совета. Сергей Ольденбург, М. Дьяконов, А. Браудо, А. Малеин, В. Чарнолуский, И. Кубасов, Е. Гейнц.’⁶²

Кризис приближался к концу.

Документ семнадцатый.

‘Получив сведения о том, что физические препятствия, мешавшие работе Книжной Палаты в настоящее время устранены, сотрудники Палаты, на общем собрании 3-го декабря 1917 года, оставаясь на точке зрения прежних резолюций, постановили возобновить свою прерванную вмешательством вооруженной силы научно-культурную деятельность. А. Фомин, Л. Ильинский, [1 подпись нрзб.], А. Александров, Д. Болдырев, А. Веселовская, С. Козлова, А. Шилов, П. Новицкая, А. Торопов, А. Ракович, [1 подпись нрзб.], С. Казанский, [2 подписи нрзб.], С. Балухатый, Р. Казарновская, Г. Никольская, Н. Пивоварская, Е. Шилова, [3 подписи нрзб.], Е. Гейдрих, Ал. Слонимский, [1 подпись нрзб.], Вл. Буш, П. Цветков, А. Одинец-Шилова, С. Бонди, М. Клеман, Н. Яковлев, Е. Сазонова.’⁶³

Репрессий, во всяком случае в тот период, по отношению к ‘забастовщикам’ не было. Только В. В. Буш был арестован ВЧК, как он сам писал впоследствии в своей ‘Общественно-политической биографии’ при приеме в члены ВКП(б) в 1931 году:

‘Октябрьская революция застала меня на работе в Российской Книжной Палате. Это учреждение, рожденное февральской революцией, в первые месяцы октябрьской революции примкнуло к саботажу, охватившему подавляющее большинство буржуазной интеллигенции. Я был участником этого саботажа и, очевидно, в связи с ним был арестован Ч.К...’⁶⁴

⁶² ЦГАЛИ СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 7, л. 89—90. Текст машинописный, подписи подлинные.

⁶³ ЦГАЛИ СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 2, л. 139—139 об. Текст машинописный, подлинник. Подписи подлинные.

⁶⁴ ГПБ ОР, ф. 117. Архив В. В. Буша, ед. хр. 28, л. 9.

Однако С. А. Венгеров в обиду своих сотрудников не давал.

Документ последний.

‘Книжная Палата

- 1) В Чрезвычайную следств. Комиссию по борьбе с контр-революцией
- 2) В Районный Совдеп Петрогр. Стороны

Книжная Палата, узнав об аресте приват-доцента Петроградского Университета Владимира Владимировича Буша, соредактора Книжной Летописи, сотрудника Книжной Палаты, имеет сообщить, что в последнее время Вл. Вл. Буш всецело был занят научной работой по чтению лекций в двух Петрогр. Университетах (1-м и 2-м) и работой в Книжной Палате, состоящей в ведении Комиссариата по просвещению; работа в Книжной Палате по редактированию официального органа советской власти — Книжной Летописи — отнимала у него все свободное время и он не имел возможности заниматься какими-либо политическими вопросами.

В последнее время В. В. Буш, всецело поглощенный своими занятиями, стоял совершенно вне политики и никогда не принадлежал ни к какой контрреволюционной группе.

Директор Книжной Палаты профессор С. Венгеров, секретарь А. Фомин.

Представитель сотрудников Книжной Палаты Л. Ильинский.⁶⁵

Роль В. В. Буша в событиях, происходивших в Палате в первые дни после Октябрьской революции, так до конца и не ясна. Во всяком случае, в большинстве приведенных нами документов есть его подпись. Именно ему А. А. Шилов, сообщив о письме Луначарского в Палату, писал 30 ноября 1917 г. следующее:

‘В виду этих обстоятельств завтра (в пятницу) в час дня у С. А.⁶⁶ состоится совещание ближайших сотрудников Палаты. Ваше присутствие, помимо этого, очень необходимо в виду обстоятельств, о которых Вы знаете. Приходите, очень нужно.⁶⁷ Ваш А. Шилов.

P.S. Если Вы решительно не сможете придти к часу, то зайдите к С. А. позже, если его не застанете дома, то не откажите побывать у Ал. Григ.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ ЦГАЛИ СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 224, л. 35. Текст машинописный, копия.

⁶⁶ Семена Афанасьевича Венгерова.

⁶⁷ По-видимому, мы так никогда и не узнаем, состоялось ли это совещание, и нам остается только догадываться, о чем на нем говорилось.

⁶⁸ Александра Григорьевича Фомина.

Но лучше, если бы Вы были у С. А.’⁶⁹

Столь настойчивое приглашение говорит о том, что, по-видимому, В. В. Буш играл не последнюю роль в этих событиях. По словам В. В. Буша из той же ‘Общественно-политической биографии’, он был ‘... быстро освобожден (15—20 дней в декабре) без предъявления мне каких-либо обвинений’.⁷⁰

Итак, Книжная Палата смогла приступить к своей деятельности в новых условиях. Уже 18 (31) декабря 1917 г. появилось обращение к типографиям за подписью С. А. Венгерова. В нем говорилось: ‘Неизмеримо велико значение сохранения печатных произведений, являющихся драгоценным, а иногда и единственным источником для ознакомления с современными политическими, общественными и литературными течениями и настроениями. Это — ценнейший материал, на основании которого историки будут изучать наше исключительное в жизни России время.’⁷¹

Начался нелегкий период перехода от ярого неприятия Советской власти к вынужденному сотрудничеству с ее представителями. Как справедливо было отмечено впоследствии Ц. И. Грин, ‘... путь, пройденный сотрудниками Петроградской книжной палаты, был типичным для многих и многих русских интеллигентов’.⁷²

⁶⁹ ГПБ ОР, ф. 117. Архив В. В. Буша, ед. хр. 239, л. 2.

⁷⁰ ГПБ ОР, ф. 117, ед. хр. 28, л. 9.

⁷¹ ЦГАЛИ СПб, ф. 306, оп. 1, д. 2, л. 140. См. также: ИРЛИ РО, ф. 568. Архив А. Г. Фомина, оп. 1, ед. хр. 168, л. 120.

⁷² Грин (примечание 53), с. 30.

Russian Publishing and Libraries in Port Arthur: Some Preliminary Notes

Sergei Paichadze

Research into the history of Russian publishing and book distribution abroad has in the past been largely Euro-centric and few specialists have investigated the history of Russian books in the Far East. In my opinion, study of areas outside Europe, notably the Far East (China, Mongolia, Japan and Korea) is necessary if we wish to have a full and objective picture of pre-revolutionary Russian culture. In all these Far Eastern countries the spread of Russian culture followed on the heels of Russian military and economic expansion, and arose from a number of factors: the penetration of Russian trading-industrial capital; contacts between scholars, writers and political figures; the recruitment by governments of Russian experts in various fields; and missionary activity.

It was in China that Far Eastern Russian publishing (outside Russia) began and it was in China that it developed on the widest scale. At the turn of the century Russia occupied a strong economic position in China. The Russo-Chinese Bank,¹ established in 1895, was granted extraordinary powers by the Chinese government to carry out both financial and trading activities, and in 1896 it received the concession to build the Chinese Eastern Railway, which played a significant role in the development of Manchuria and of the whole of north-eastern China. Russians owned businesses in a number of Chinese provinces and they engaged in active sea and land trade with China via Siberia and Central Asia. As in other countries where there was a more or less stable Russian population (in this case consisting of servicemen and officers, businessmen and immigrants), a publishing and book distribution trade soon developed—in Harbin, Shanghai, Tientsin (Tianjin), Peking (Beijing) and other places, including Port Arthur.

In the struggle for spheres of influence in China, Russia secured in 1898 a lease on Port Arthur for twenty-five years and was given permission to build a branch line connecting it with the Chinese Eastern Railway. By the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War, the Russian civilian and military population in Port Arthur and the port of Dalny (Dalian) numbered some sixty thousand.

According to the sources at my disposal, the first printing house which was established to serve this population was that of the Military Headquarters of the Kwantung (Guandong) region, which published, in 1899, the

¹ Later renamed the Russo-Asian Bank, it had 55 million roubles worth of joint stock, a turnover of 700 million roubles a year, and over a hundred branches including its foreign ones.

Vsepoddanneishii otchet nachal'nika Kvantunskogo poluostrova general-maiora Subboticha (Report of Major-General Subbotich, Military Chief of the Kwantung Region) for 1898 and 1899, and which was still issuing books and pamphlets at the beginning of the twentieth century.

A journal issued by the printing house of Iohanson, entitled *Pamiatnye knizhki Kvantunskoi oblasti* (Memorial Books of the Kwantung Region), gives a picture of the development of industry, transport and culture, which grew up side by side with the building of the naval base. The journal gives information about schools (including Russo-Chinese schools), medical establishments, various organisations and societies, sports clubs, cultural and educational circles, the Red Cross Committee, etc.

However, the main publisher and distributor of Russian material was the 'Novyi krai' Publishing House of P. A. Artem'ev, who edited a newspaper of the same name, which was founded in 1899 and first published in 1900—the successor to a paper entitled *Izvestiia po telegrafu* (Telegraph News).² A series of pamphlets entitled 'Biblioteka gazety "Novyi krai"' was also published. Available evidence suggests that there were eleven titles in this series. A typical title is *Rossiia v Kitae: ocherk grazhdanskikh reform na Kvantune* (Russia in China: An Essay on Civil Reforms in Kwantung) by A. K. Krasnoivanovskii. The 'Novyi krai' publishing house also issued textbooks for studying the Chinese language, as did practically all the Russian presses in China. For example, the press of the Kwantung Military Headquarters issued in 1901 *Zhun'-i-tun-iun'-e-khan'-ian'-iui | Legkie i obshcheupotrebitel'nye russko-kitaiskie slova i frazy* (Simple and Commonly Used Russian–Chinese Words and Phrases), compiled on the basis of an English textbook by P. Kandinskii, a former teacher in the Chinese department of the local Pushkin Elementary School.

Publishing continued in Port Arthur until 1904, with at least five or six Russian titles published each year. The following titles will give an idea of their character: *Vremennye pravila o gorodskom upravlenii v Port-Arture* (Temporary Rules for the Municipal Government of Port Arthur); *Instruktsiia gg. družnikom-okhotnikom Port-Arturskogo vol'nogo pozharnogo obshchestva* (Instructions for the Volunteers of the Port Arthur Voluntary Fire Brigade); Tyrtov's *Otvetstvennost' voennykh sledovatelei* (The Responsibilities of Military Investigators) and his *Poniatie i sushchnost' voinskoj distsipliny v nauke i literature* (The Concept and Essence of Military Discipline in Science and Literature); and *U sten nedvizhnogo Kitaia* (At the Walls of Immobile China) by the *Novyi krai* correspondent Dmitrii Ianchevitskii. In 1908 the 'Novyi krai' press alone issued seven books or pamphlets.

² I. G. Striuchenko, *Pechat' Dal'nego Vostoka nakanune i v gody pervoi russkoi revoliutsii* (Vladivostok, 1982), pp. 233, 34.

Apart from its press, *Novyi krai* also had a book warehouse (which in a number of cases featured as a publisher) and a bookshop. In its early years the shop stocked mainly instructional books, printed forms and maps. In later years the range of its stock broadened. Even in 1904, the first year of the Russo-Japanese War, the bookshop, situated on Pushkin Street, could supply its customers with medical literature published in central Russia, and books published in Russian Far Eastern and some Chinese cities. Shvetsov's collection of stories *Nakonets* was available, published in Port Arthur, and P. V. Shkurkin's book of essays on the history of Central Manchuria, *V gorode Khulanchen* (In the Town of Hulanchen), published in Nikolsk-Ussurisk. The shop also sold postcards. An advertisement in the newspaper *Novyi krai* on 9 April 1904 listed twelve postcards with views of Port Arthur and six with views of Dalny.

Regular advertisements for the bookshop tell us that it was open from eight to seven on weekdays and until two on Sundays and public holidays. The advertisements also give the prices of postcards, books and newspaper subscriptions. For example, a set of ten cheap postcards with views of Port Arthur cost ten copecks. Book and journal prices ranged from fifteen copecks to eight roubles. An annual subscription to the Tomsk newspaper *Sibirskaiia zhizn'* cost nine roubles (in Tomsk itself the price was four, and in other Russian cities, five). Other periodicals also had a surcharge. *Novyi krai* advertised the St Petersburg newspaper *Rossia*, the *Blagoveshchensk Amurskaia gazeta* and books from P. I. Makushin's bookshops in Tomsk and Irkutsk, which were described as having 'a huge and varied choice of books in all spheres of science and literature'. An inhabitant of Port Arthur could also receive book and music catalogues from Siberia upon payment of three 7-copeck postage stamps. *Novyi krai* accepted advertisements from St Petersburg, Moscow and Warsaw, as well as from Asiatic Russia.

The formation of libraries in Port Arthur also gives evidence of its close links with the metropolis. The Nikolaevsk Public Library in Khabarovsk Province sent three boxes of books (632 volumes) for the establishment of a public library for the Russian population of Port Arthur.³ Military libraries were set up in army units in Port Arthur and other places by local commanders in conjunction with the War Ministry in St Petersburg. In his report for 1902 the military commander of the Kwantung region noted that the newly founded military units there had no good libraries nor the funds for establishing them. They only had periodicals, textbooks for preparing for entry to institutions of higher education, and works on military service. The sum of four thousand roubles a year (based on the figures for 1903) which was assigned to them for acquiring books was inadequate, and among the officers

³ *Otchet Nikolaevskoi publichnoi biblioteki za 1898 god* (Khabarovsk, 1899), p. 14.

there was an active desire to read and educate themselves.⁴ The military leadership took some steps to provide the troops, and not only the officers, with reading matter. However, the urgency of the task did not mean that they would allow any type of books. There was a strict procedure for checking catalogues of books which were allowed to be sent to soldiers.⁵

It was impossible to keep the army apart from the political processes which were occurring in society, therefore suitable publications were issued and distributed among the troops to act 'as a corrective' to their frame of mind. For example, the War Ministry issued a collection entitled *Russkomu soldatu v pamiati o A. S. Pushkina* (For the Russian Soldier in Memory of Pushkin) which was sent free of charge to every regiment, squadron, battery and detachment. It included portraits of Nicholas II, Peter the Great and Catherine, as well as Pushkin, and its texts were first of all selected so as to be 'able to be understood by the lower ranks' and then carefully edited.⁶ Several hundred copies of this book were sent to the Far East. The Central State Archive of the USSR Navy (TsGA VMF SSSR) has information about such books published at the expense of the government.⁷

However, the War Ministry was not in a position to make provision for all its units and divisions in this way. Material in the archive shows that it also sought to supply the troops of the Kwantung region through donations from European Russia. One document records consignments of books sent to the Port Arthur military library from the libraries of the Thirteenth and Seventeenth Army Corps and also of books donated by the Kiev Military District, where works of both Russian and foreign authors were collected, including those of Aksakov, Belinskii, Gogol', Dostoevskii, Goncharov, Zhukovskii, Lermontov, Mamin-Sibiriak, Ostrovskii, Shevchenko, Jules Verne, Flaubert and Fenimore Cooper. Books on the natural sciences were also collected for despatch to the Far East, for example Alfred Brehm's *Life of Animals*, as well as books on military science, including M. I. Veniukov's *Opyty voennogo obozreniia russkikh granits v Azii* (Attempts at a Military Survey of Russia's borders with Asia). There were also books on the exact sciences. The number of titles collected was over six hundred and the number of copies donated was more than a thousand.⁸ These statistics may not appear significant by today's standards, but allowance must be made for the different

⁴ TsGVIA (Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi voenno-istoricheskii arkhiv SSSR), fond 400, opis' 7, delo 1801, ff. 3, 5, 10.

⁵ TsGVIA, fond 401, opis' 5/929, delo 175, ff. 38-44, 51-56, 95-95v.

⁶ TsGVIA, fond 400, opis' 21, delo 2693, ff. 1, 2, 18, 20, 23, 40.

⁷ TsGA VMF SSSR (Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Voennno-Morskogo flota SSSR), fond 418, opis' 1, delo 4498, ff. 23-214.

⁸ TsGVIA, fond 401, opis' 5/929, delo 381, ff. 380-91.

ИЗДАНИЯ КНИЖНОГО СЮЛАДА „НОВЫЙ КРАЙ“

П. А. АРТЕМЬЕВА

ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОГО КНИЖНОГО СЮЛАДА И ГЛАВНОГО УПРАВЛЕНИЯ
ВЪ ХАРБИНѢ И С.-ПЕТЕРБУРГѢ.

У стѣнъ ледянаго Китая. Съ иллюстраціями. Д. Г. Яичевскій. Изд. 3-е. Ц. 4 р.

БИБЛИОТЕКА ГАЗЕТЫ „НОВЫЙ КРАЙ“.

- № 1. Воспоминанія о Сеямуровскомъ походѣ 1900 г. Ц. 50 к.
- № 2. 12-я полкъ во время событія боксерскаго возстанія. Часть 1. 1900 г. Ц. 1 р.
- № 3. Ченпза. Разск. изъ русско-маньчжур. быта. М. Ф. Черниковскій. 1901 г. Ц. 50 к.
- № 4. Первый номеръ желтой опасности. И. С. Левитовъ. 1902 г. Ц. 35 к.
- № 5. Мензальный способъ опредѣленія мѣста корабля на морѣ. Лейт. Неупокоевъ. 1901 г. Ц. 25 к.
- № 6. Заздравное слово въ честь русской коммерціи. Артурецъ. 1903 г. Ц. 20 к.
- № 7. Рентъ-Занъ. Разсказъ на досугъ. Переводъ съ японскаго. Н. Р. Г. 1902 г. Ц. 60 к.
- № 8. Къ трехлѣтню занятію гор. Цзинъ-Чжоу. Chinamp. 1903 г. Ц. 15 к.
- № 9. Необыкновенное приключеніе. Спидъ въ колесницѣ. 1903 г. Ц. 15 к.
- № 10. Россія въ Китаѣ. М. Красновановскій. 1903 г. Ц. 15 к.
- № 11. Существуютъ-ли Маньчжуры? П. Россовъ. 1903 г. Ц. 15 к.

РУССКІЙ КИТАЙ.

- I. Очерки занятія Квантуна и быта туземнаго населенія. П. Россовъ. 1901 г. Ц. 2 р.
- II. Очерки дипломатическихъ сношеній Россіи съ Китаемъ. Пекинскій договоръ. Баронъ Буксгевденъ. 1903 г. Ц. 1 р. 50 к.
- Временное положеніе объ управленіи Квантунской области. 1899 г. Ц. 50 к.
- Временныя правила о городскомъ управленіи Портъ-Артура. 1903 г. Ц. 15 к.
- Китайско-русскій словарь. Кауфманъ. 1902 г. Ц. 50 к.
- Русско-японскій словарь. Де-Ливронъ. 1902 г. Ц. 3 р.
- Процессъ Морпурго. Ц. 50 к.
- Отвѣтственность военныхъ слѣдователей. М. А. Тыртовъ. 1902 г. Ц. 50 к.
- Понятіе и сущность воинской дисциплины въ наукѣ и литературѣ. М. А. Тыртовъ. 1903 г. Ц. 50 к.
- Железно-дорожное счетоводство. Вып. I. Салъга. 1902 г. Ц. 3 р.
- Нахонецъ. Повѣсть въ 2 частяхъ. С. А. Швецовъ. 1903 г. Ц. 1 р.
- Открытыя письма съ видами и типами Портъ-Артура. Ц. 5 к.

ПОСТУПИЛИ ВЪ ПРОДАЖУ НОВЫЯ КНИГИ:

- Страницы изъ дневника. Очерки изъ жизни осажденнаго Артура. Н. Версигинъ (Артурскій обыватель). Ц. 1 р. 50 к.
- Въ японской неволѣ. Очерки изъ жизни русскихъ плѣнныхъ въ Японіи. Съ иллюстр. и картой. Ф. П. Кумчинскій. Ц. 3 р.
- Страданія для Портъ-Артура. Хроника осажденной крѣпости. Съ иллюстр., картой и планами. П. Ларенко. Часть I. Ц. 2 р. 50 к.

ПЕЧАТАЮТСЯ:

- Страданія для Портъ-Артура. П. Ларенко. Часть II.
- Правда о Портъ-Артурѣ. Съ иллюстр. Е. К. Ножинъ.

ГОТОВЯТСЯ КЪ ПЕЧАТИ:

- Осажденный Портъ-Артуръ. Съ иллюстраціями. Е. К. Ножинъ.
- Матеріалъ возмимовенія японской войны. М. Ф. Черниковскій.

СКЛАДЪ ИЗДАНИЙ:

- Въ С.-Петербургѣ у издателя (Съѣздинская ул. № 25, кв. 6), въ книжн. маг. Березовскаго, Главнаго Штаба, Губинскаго, „Новаго Времени“.

Въ Москвѣ въ книжн. маг. Сытина и Ключника.

Всѣхъ разбѣтъ во время осады Портъ-Артура складъ отпущенъ, нѣтъ сохранилось очень ограниченное число экземпляровъ.

time and circumstances. Besides, it was not the quantity that was important, but the very fact that they were sent and the moral significance.

The war had an adverse effect on Russian publishing and libraries, and when the fortress was handed over in 1905 these centres of the Russian book in Kwantung ceased to exist. It seems that owners of private libraries also suffered losses. A document in the Central State Archive of the Navy records that the former port commander Admiral Grigorovich (later the Naval Minister) 'was unable to recover baskets of books which, when the fortress was surrendered, were handed over to the Japanese', and they disappeared without trace.

In an appendix of a paper presented by Patricia Polansky in 1990, there is a list of twenty-three Port Arthur books and pamphlets which was printed in the Harbin edition of the newspaper *Novyi krai* (Fig. 1). It is accompanied by the note: 'Because the warehouse in which these books were stored was destroyed during the siege of Port Arthur, very few copies have survived'.⁹ Overall, according to my calculations, no fewer than forty books and journals were published in Port Arthur during the years 1899–1904. Those which survived were sent to Manchuria and sold in Harbin.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasise that research into the history of Russian publishing and book distribution in the Far East is far from complete. I would be grateful to receive information about Russian books which were disseminated in the Asian–Pacific region in the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. In return I am happy to provide information about Russian publications in China, Mongolia, Japan and Korea (up to 1917) and in the Soviet Far East from 1917 to 1990.

Translated from Russian

⁹ P. Polansky, 'Publishing Connections between the Soviet Far East and North-Eastern Asia' (unpublished paper presented at the IV World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies, Harrogate, 1990).

Reviews

Česká kniha v proměnách staletí. Mirjam Bohatcová a kolektiv. Praha, Panorama, 1990. 622 pp. Illustrations. Bibliographies. Indexes. Kčs. 140.00.

Eliska Ryznar and Murlin Croucher, *Books in Czechoslovakia: Past and Present.* Publishing, Bibliography, Libraries and Archives in Eastern Europe, vol. 2. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1989. vi+107 pp. Illustrations. Bibliography. Index.

Five leading specialists on Czech manuscripts and antiquarian and rare books have joined forces to produce the substantial, scholarly and extremely readable volume of essays on all aspects of the development of book arts in the Czech lands, entitled *Česká kniha v proměnách staletí* (The Czech Book throughout the Ages). It is especially welcome because monographs on this subject are few, the results of scholarly research appearing mainly in articles scattered in a wide range of periodicals, some quite obscure. After its manuscript had waited six years for publication, it won the 1990 'Librarians' Prize' in the Czechoslovak Book of the Year competition.

Although the approach is chronological, it does not aim to be a comprehensive history; rather, it gives a historical outline, supplemented by an analysis of certain works typical of each period. Its authors are: Dr Mirjam Bohatcová (also editor), the *grande dame* of the history of Czech printing, the historian Ivan Hlaváček, the art historian and specialist on manuscript illumination Josef Krása (who, sadly, did not live to see the book published), the bookbinding expert Bohumil Nuska, and the researcher into incunabula and graphic arts Pravoslav Kneidl.

The book opens with a section which explores the role of the religious codex in medieval society and ends with Kneidl's survey (over 150 pages) of the new 'Golden Age' of Czech book production in the first half of the twentieth century. The only serious omission is the lack of a chapter on the history of paper. It is no surprise that the parts which make the strongest impact are Miriam Bohatcová's studies on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century printing, in which she presents a cross-section of her lifelong research, including a chapter devoted to various editions of the Bible, the crowning glory of Czech publishing. (Although the word 'Bible' is missing from the chapter title, references can easily be found via the indexes.) Also, in the absence of any separate monograph on modern Czech book art, Kneidl's essays on twentieth-century Czech book design, typography and illustration, with its useful bibliography arranged in order of artists' names, will serve as an indispensable standard reference work.

Since the book aims to attract the general reader as well as the specialist,

there are no footnotes, but each section is accompanied by a comprehensive bibliography for those who want to embark on further study. There are two sufficiently detailed and thorough indexes—one of people, places and titles, and another of bookmaking terminology and concepts. Over 300 colour and black-and-white illustrations complement the text, and Oldřich Hlavsa, the doyen of Czech typography and book design, has produced here what must be one of the best examples of his art. *Česká kniha* is also a tribute to Czech typesetters in what is one of the last undertakings of its kind using traditional techniques. It marks the end of an era before the onset of phototypesetting and the application of computer technology.

The book was written for the Czechoslovak reader and there are no summaries or contents listings in other languages. Given its small print-run (4,500 copies), it will not stay long in print, and present constraints in the Czechoslovak publishing industry make it unlikely that it will be reissued. This work deserves a translation into English. An English edition would help to make the wider world aware of an interesting and varied sphere of bookmaking whose contribution to European book arts is not yet fully appreciated.

Meanwhile, *Books in Czechoslovakia: Past and Present*, although it does not to the same extent convey the beauty and variety of Czech book printing throughout the ages, goes some way to bringing knowledge about the Czechoslovak book to a wider audience. It covers a larger geographical area than *Česká kniha*, including Slovakia as well as the Czech lands, and provides a basic historical outline of book production, also including chapters on libraries and, especially welcome, on bibliography and archives. The book is based entirely on Czech and Slovak sources. Again, it has no footnotes, but a selective bibliography of sources and further reading is appended. The bibliography is perhaps a little thin on the ground and has missed some important sources (for example, K. Chyba's dictionary of Czech printers to 1860 is not listed), but it will provide a good starting point. On the whole, the book succeeds in what it sets out to do—to acquaint librarians, students of librarianship and others with basic facts, trends and events from the eleventh century to the 1980s.

DEVANA PAVLIK

The British Library, London

A. V. Voznesenskii, *Kirillicheskie izdaniia staroobriadcheskikh tipografii kontsa XVIII–nachala XIX veka: katalog*. Leningrad, Izdatel'stvo Leningradskogo universiteta, 1991.

This catalogue contains descriptions of 361 printed books produced by or for Old Believers at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth

centuries. It concentrates on the books printed at four presses: the two run by Fedor Kartashev and his son Akim in Klintsy, that maintained by P. I. Seleznev at Makhnovka, and subsequently by Konstantin Kolychev at Yanov, and that of the Uniate Monastery of the Holy Trinity at Vilno. The first three were clandestine presses; the fourth, though legitimate, evidently also accepted unofficial orders from the Old Believers. Though some—but by no means all—of the books printed there have been noted previously by bibliographers from Sopikov onwards, their description and identification present peculiar difficulties. This is largely the result of their ‘underground’ origin, which caused the printers to provide them with false imprints, so that the place or date of publication that appear in the books, or both, may be fictitious. The bibliographer thus has to establish their true origin on the basis of type, paper, and similar criteria.

The catalogue is most impressive. The 208 works identified as having been printed at the four presses mentioned are provided with very full descriptions, including paper, full collation and pagination, detailed typographical information, all forms of decoration, complete contents, and any particular distinguishing characteristics of the edition. This should make it possible in future to identify these editions even from defective or fragmentary copies. The remaining 153 items are described more briefly, in what has become the standard manner for bibliographies of this type. Locations and bibliographical data are given for all items. The book also includes a series of plates reproducing no less than 159 headpieces and other ornaments, which will be extremely valuable. No examples of type, however, are reproduced.

It is certain that this book will become the standard description of these publications, providing as it does the first reliable model for their identification. It is, however, far from complete, covering as it does only the holdings of three libraries in St Petersburg: the Public Library, the University Library and that of the Academy of Sciences. The author estimates that these include about two thirds of the Old Believer printed books of the period. All scholars interested in Russian bibliography will hope that he soon has the opportunity to describe the rest.

R. M. CLEMINSON

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Charles A. Ruud, *Russian Entrepreneur: Publisher Ivan Sytin of Moscow, 1851–1934*. Montreal etc., McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990. x + 270 pp. Illustrations. Tables. Bibliography. Index. \$32.95.

In the years prior to the Revolution the name of Ivan Dmitrievich Sytin dominated the Russian publishing scene. Proprietor of the largest publishing

house and the most popular Russian daily newspaper, *Russkoe slovo*, by 1917 Sytin was without rival. Following the Revolution, the Bolshevik policy of nationalising the press and publishing stripped him of all he had achieved.

This book, based on extensive archival research, charts Sytin's remarkable career as an entrepreneur in the classic mould. Of peasant origin, Sytin entered publishing by chance in 1866 as an apprentice printing *lubki*. From this humble beginning he was to build an empire through tireless effort, shrewd investment in plant and personnel, together with some not unquestionable business practices and a degree of good fortune. In the 1880s, as publisher of the Tolstoyan 'Posrednik' series, Sytin won the approbation of the populist intelligentsia, attracting some leading literary talents, Chekhov among them; at the same time he also incurred the suspicion of the authorities. Thereafter Sytin trod a cautious path between radicalism and respectability.

While contemporaries sometimes questioned his motives, Sytin emerges from these pages as a man of great energy, driven by an overriding vision—to make available low-price informative reading material for mass consumption. Provision of textbooks for schools and the dissemination of information through a popular daily paper were particular concerns. It is the author's view that Sytin and his publications, especially *Russkoe slovo*, played a not insignificant role in feeding and forming Russian public opinion in the years leading up to the Revolution, thereby contributing to the undermining and final collapse of autocracy.

In shedding light on this little-known giant of Russian publishing the author makes a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the book trade and the popular press in these years and breaks new ground in the little-studied phenomenon of the Russian entrepreneur.

GRAHAM P. CAMFIELD

British Library of Political and Economic Science

Kniga i chtenie v zerkale sotsiologii. Moskva: Knizhnaia palata, 1990. 208 pp. Bibliography. (Gosudarstvennaia biblioteka SSSR imeni V. I. Lenina.)

For over twenty years, the Lenin Library's Sector for the Sociology of Reading and Librarianship monopolised large-scale research in the field in the USSR. This book, completed in summer 1989, is partly an appraisal of what was achieved during those years and partly a collection of essays on more recent work. The volume opens with a reflective article by Valeriia Dmitrievna Stel'makh, in which she discusses the problems of the sociology of reading as a discipline in the USSR, the revival of interest in it during perestroika and its possible future role. The findings of numerous research projects in the 1970s and 1980s are summarised by Dobrynina and Reitblat;

inevitably they skate over many of the methodological problems. The last large-scale project completed by the Lenin Library was on people's own home libraries, and there is a reasonably informative account of this by M. L. Smorodinskaia. The issue of the quality of library stocks and their incompatibility with readers' needs is tackled by A. I. Reitblat; this hard-hitting article should be read alongside G. R. Iakimov's excellent analysis of the black market in books. Stel'makh's article on the image of libraries and librarians will elicit sympathy from many Western librarians—though we have nothing which quite parallels the Soviet 'How the librarian promoted books on dairying and transformed the milk yield in the collective farm'. Dobrynina provides an up-date of her work on 'multinational' reading (principally Russian literature and non-Russian readers). Other articles in the volume cover literary perception and cultural values (part of a joint project with Hungary) and reviewers in literary journals 1820–1978. The focus of the collection is the modern USSR, although there is one article by S. M. Smirnova, completed shortly before her death in 1980, which discusses the 1918 census of Moscow employees as a hitherto untapped source of information on reading and library use.

The articles are followed by some statistical tables on reading, mass libraries and home libraries. They are drawn from three research projects in 1975–1985, but unfortunately they are poorly presented, and hence of limited value. It is not clear whether any of the figures have been published elsewhere. An appendix gives preliminary results of research in 1986–89, notably on children's reading; this makes clear both children's great love of reading and the damaging effects of the book shortage.

The book ends with a selective list of the Sector's publications from 1968 to 1987. It is to be hoped that the expertise built up by the Sector over the years will not be dissipated; perhaps this kind of research will be continued in the Russian State Library which has replaced the Lenin Library.

JENNY BRINE

Aberdeen

Polish Libraries Today. Vol. 1– (Warsaw: National Library, 1991–).

As libraries in Eastern and Central Europe begin to search for ways to benefit from cooperation with other libraries and information services in the world arena, public relations exercises are clearly needed to give librarians in other countries an idea of the profiles of these previously almost unknown quantities. It is with this aim in mind that the National Library of Poland has begun to publish the irregular library journal in English, *Polish Libraries Today*. The format is essentially a good one: a selection of articles surveying

developments in National Library policy and functions, librarianship, bibliography, publishing and information systems. This is followed by a review section featuring some important recent Polish books and bibliographies in the field and a useful list of Polish library-related books and periodicals.

However, as far as Volume 1 is concerned the title is something of a misnomer. The articles chosen for inclusion date from 1986–7, a time when censorship and political control of publishing, books and libraries was still in force—a period which represents the ‘yesterday’ of a discredited ideology rather than the ‘today’ of a progressive library and information system. Clearly it is necessary to have a historical background to current events, but the publication of certain of these articles without amendment or critical comment seems misguided. I take as an example the decision to include material such as J. Wolosz’s essentially laudatory article on librarianship in the Stalinist and post-Stalinist era in ‘Peoples’ Poland’ rather than taking advantage of the new-found freedom to evaluate critically Communist library policies. No mention is made of the official policy on underground and emigré publishing, its suppression and exclusion from libraries, bibliographies and publishing statistics, an issue pertinent to subjects discussed in a number of the articles chosen for inclusion. This is counteracted, however, by some more balanced evaluations such as J. Kolodziejska’s survey of education for librarianship.

Given the PR role of this publication, the translations are somewhat heavy-handed. Examples of mistranslation such as *The Librarian’s Handy Dictionary* (p. 25) (*Podręczny słownik bibliotekarza*) or, when describing the public librarian’s service role, ‘they ... should demonstrate greater initiative in presenting their offer to erratic readers’ (p. 57) and the frequent misuse of the definite article are to be regretted. These linguistic inaccuracies tend to distract the reader, the serious topics under discussion losing much of their power.

One is mindful of the lengthy delays inherent in the production of this type of publication, but one still cannot help but feel that it would have been wise, especially for the first ‘flagship’ issue, to have commissioned some new articles outlining current strengths, weaknesses, problems and concerns in the light of the change of regime and cultural policy (or lack of one). Let us hope that this might be the tone of future issues of this potentially useful and interesting journal.

JANET ZMROCZEK

The British Library, London

Notes

Some Aspects of Library Automation in Latvia

Introduction

Automated information and library systems are relatively new factors to be considered by Latvian librarians. First attempts towards library automation were made five years ago when the automated system SUBSCRIPTION (for dealing with annual periodical subscriptions) was designed and implemented by the Information and Engineering Centre.

To date about eight automated subsystems have been introduced. They are designed as separate work-stations and are located mostly in the libraries of Riga and in some other cities. These subsystems cover distinct library functions such as acquisitions, cataloguing, loans and enquiry services.

The Present Situation

The National Library of Latvia together with the Research and Technical Library of Latvia, the Research Library of the Academy of Sciences of Latvia, and the Information Engineering Centre (which is the main designer of the subsystems) have been jointly responsible for determining library automation policy in Latvia. However, lack of equipment and financial resources have prevented the design and implementation of a unified integrated library network such as a national OPAC.

At present, the National Library of Latvia (NLL) has four automated library subsystems:

META is an arts and culture database which permits searches to be carried out on author, subject headings and language.

SUBSCRIPTION includes information on annual periodical subscriptions and serial registration.

PARLIAMENT contains MPs' enquiries and evaluations of primary bibliographical sources (mostly periodicals) issued in Latvia and abroad. The system is located in the NLL which also serves as the Library of Parliament.

ELECTRONIC CATALOGUE is a small element of the OPAC which contains data on monographs, and which can be searched by author, title and subject heading.

Similar systems are used by the Research and Technical Library of Latvia which runs an automated subsystem covering data input and retrieval of patents and standards. This subsystem is based on the previously mentioned ELECTRONIC CATALOGUE. There is also a READERS'

REGISTRATION database which contains information on users and also issues readers' cards.

The Research Library of the Academy of Sciences of Latvia and some regional libraries have started to input data to the ELECTRONIC CATALOGUE (similar to the NLL).

However, all the above-mentioned library subsystems run only on personal computers at separate work-stations. There is no mainframe or appropriate networking, which restricts data flow and exchange between libraries and even between the separate work-stations.

Future Perspectives

During the last few years libraries in Latvia, and in particular the National Library of Latvia, have received several proposals for co-operation from libraries, library associations and other organizations abroad. For instance, at present a project for co-operation between libraries in Sweden and the NLL is being considered. The Swedes have said that they would like to instal some equipment (PCs, CD-ROM players and recorders, printers) as a form of humanitarian aid.

The major problem in Latvia is the lack of a unified OPAC system which would bring together the collections of the major libraries in Latvia. Libraries are also deficient in the appropriate technology and systems for compiling and distributing the national bibliography, which at present is compiled manually in the Institute of Bibliography in Latvia. However, our Swedish colleagues would like to instal their OPAC system, LIBRIS, together with a mainframe, for the libraries of Latvia. This could solve many of our problems at once.

Attempts are being made to change radically the present situation in library automation in Latvia based on the experience of our own experts. Unfortunately, the very limited financial resources do not allow the implementation of a national integrated library systems project.

Nevertheless, the joint Latvian/Scandinavian co-operation project is an interesting development. One hopes that in the near future better contacts will also be established between Latvian and British librarians in the field of library automation, which would enable the development of information exchange between these countries.

KARLIS KRESLINS

*Department of Library and Information Studies,
University of Loughborough*

Book Studies Conference, Moscow, 21–23 April 1992

The Conference, seventh in a series initiated by N. M. Sikorskii, was entitled 'Nauchnaia konferentsiia po problemam knigovedeniia: kniga v meniaiushchetsia mire' (Scientific Book Studies Conference: The Book in a Changing World). It was sponsored by six different organizations, including the Nauchnyi sovet po istorii mirovoi kul'tury of the Rossiiskaia akademiia nauk, and was held at the Ministerstvo pechati. U.S. attendees, apart from myself, were Wojciech Zalewski (Stanford University) and Edward Kasinec (The New York Public Library).

The conference began with a plenary session on 21 April, with presentations by B. V. Lenskii, A. I. Solov'ev and E. A. Dinershtein, among others. That afternoon and throughout the following day, eleven sections met concurrently (all but one section had three meetings). I attended meetings of the sections on: Publishing; History of the Book up to the Twentieth Century; and History of the Book in the Twentieth Century. Other sections included: Theoretical Problems of Book Studies; Sociology of the Book and Reading; Libraries; Bibliography; the Book Trade; Bibliophily; Book Arts; and Manuscripts. Besides the programme, the registration packet included brochures with summaries of the presentations given in the opening plenary session and ten of the eleven sections. I have copies of these.

The closing plenary session took place on 23 April and included presentations by E. L. Nemirovskii and A. A. Belovitskaia. I was asked to say a few words, and I tried to alleviate concerns about the current situation in Russia which I saw coming out of the conference (the explosion of poor-quality literature, the decline in enthusiasm for reading, the question of government support for publishing it at a time when major houses are coming to a standstill through lack of funds). Others also tried to be positive; while one commentator lamented the poor attendance at the conference, in relation to the number of papers accepted, another was particularly impressed by the variety of attendees, who came from the Ukraine, the Baltic countries and elsewhere, as well as from different parts of Russia. Indeed, he congratulated the organizers on the mere fact that the conference had taken place, considering current conditions.

MIRANDA BEAVEN

Library, University of California, Berkeley

SEEBIS—Soviet and East Europe Business Information Service

From 1985 onwards the policies of perestroika and glasnost introduced by Gorbachev gave rise to a surge of interest by Western businessmen in Soviet and Eastern European developments. At the time there were few specialists in commercial matters in these areas and businessmen found it difficult to gain access to forms of commercial information normally regarded as routine in the West. Yet the uncertainties associated with business ventures in Eastern Europe made the acquisition of such information and data essential.

In this situation Glasgow University's considerable collection of Soviet and East European social sciences materials became an obvious basis for providing the kinds of data and information needed by businessmen for decision-making. As the collection was further developed, together with the expertise of the staff, an increasing number of enquiries were received from a wide range of firms with interests in Eastern Europe and the then Soviet Union.

By 1988 the potential for placing the business activities of the service upon a commercial footing was recognised. Professor Bill Wallace gave impetus to this movement with a successful application for pump-priming funds to the McPhie Bequest. With this money, additional business publications were published and the service was piloted on a low-key, unadvertised basis. This approach indicated that there was a market but, of course, was not too helpful in exploiting that potential! —a situation made all the more obvious by the extravagant claims of an ever increasing number of new information suppliers in a field that was becoming intensely competitive. At the end of 1991 the service issued its own publicity brochure, but such is the speed of change that the carefully thought out acronym for the service is already out of date. The highlight of the last year was an article on East European commercial information and intelligence in the *Financial Times* which featured the service and which resulted in valuable publicity.

The initial aim is to make SEEBIS self-financing and, within a reasonable time-span, commercially viable. At present it is too early to say whether this will be possible. The service was initiated to provide information for Scottish companies exploring the potential of East European markets. As it has developed, however, it has been used in the main by companies concentrated in the London area. In addition we have had enquiries from abroad—France, Belgium, Sweden, the USA and the Netherlands. The pattern of interest in East European business, from our point of view, is unpredictable. Periods of intense pressure alternate with calmer sessions for no reason that we can fathom.

Our general aim is to satisfy information and data requirements of businessmen contemplating moving into East European markets. We also assist consultants and other information specialists. The fee for assistance has been set at £50 an hour—a sum which some firms find extremely reasonable, but which others baulk at. Both views, of course, reflect business attitudes towards the use and exploitation of information. In this matter it is generally accepted that British firms, by and large, lag behind their European competitors.

Our operating remit embraces a wide range of the information spectrum, for example, all types of contact data, market and product characteristics, social and economic data, opportunities for joint ventures, legal requirements for foreign businesses. Because information requirements are usually couched in such terms as 'the latest', 'the most up to date', 'last week', we have to make heavy use of electronic databases. As in other fields, this medium is gaining in significance as Eastern Europe is drawn into the Western business network.

To illustrate in more specific terms: we have been asked to provide information, usually within a matter of hours, on distribution networks in the former USSR, projected stock market developments in Eastern Europe, the computer industry in Poland, privatization in Hungary, consumer markets in Czechoslovakia.

SEEBIS has achieved its first phase of establishing a presence in the business information field. It was the first of the universities to recognise and meet the need for Eastern European business information. The second phase of exploitation will depend upon a number of factors, but mainly the willingness of the University to invest further resources in the service and upon demand. In the business world the investment would probably come first. In our less entrepreneurial environment stress will probably be placed on demand. Proven demand might persuade an unloosening of purse-strings, but then consistent demand may well be a function of quality of service which, in turn, is based upon depth of investment—not an unusual situation for these days, but one that should make for interest.

TANIA KONN

Glasgow University Library

COSEELIS, formerly SCONUL ACOSEEM

The British Slavonic and East European librarians' group (SCONUL ACOSEEM), formerly an advisory council to SCONUL (The Standing Council of National and University Libraries), has been reconstituted as an independent body under the name of COSEELIS (Council for Slavonic and

East European Library and Information Services). SCONUL, having decided to dispose of all its advisory councils, will cease to act as publisher of *Solanus* after 1992. Negotiations are under way to establish a future publisher/patron. COSEELIS is about to appoint a committee and will hold its annual conference at Bristol University on 24–25 September 1992. Colleagues from abroad will be most welcome to attend. Further information is available from Tania Konn (Glasgow University Library) or Michael McLaren Turner (The British Library, London).

Project for an International Union Catalogue / Database of Soviet and Baltic Independent Publications

At a conference held at St Antony's College, Oxford in autumn 1991, sponsored by RFE/RL Research Institute, the British Library, St Antony's College and Signals Trust, agreement was reached on the creation of an international database of Soviet and Baltic independent publications. There were thirty participants, who more or less fell into two distinct categories: (i) those representing institutions or informal groupings within the USSR (from Moscow, Leningrad and Minsk), and who are themselves collectors and researchers of such publications, and (ii) representatives of libraries in the West, who have also been collecting (partly with the assistance of individuals from group (i)), and who have been making their own listings/catalogues with varying degrees of fullness and sophistication.

The Russian and Belorussian side was represented by, among others, Aleksandr Suetnov (Centre for the Study of Social Movements, Moscow), whose idea the project was, Viacheslav Igrunov and Marina Razorenova (Institute of Humanities and Political Studies, Moscow), Andrei Alekseev (Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences, Leningrad), Oleg Manaev (Belorussian University, Minsk), Anatoly Petrik (Gorky Institute of World Literature, Moscow). The RFE/RL Research Institute, Munich, was represented by Mario Corti. Christine Thomas represented the British Library. Other UK institutions represented were the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Library of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London. From Western Europe there were representatives from the Bibliothèque de Documentation Internationale Contemporaine, Paris, and the Forschungsstelle Osteuropa, Bremen. US libraries represented included Harvard College Library, the Hoover Institution, the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign, the University of North Carolina and the Library of Congress. The contributions made by Harold Leich and Eric Johnson of the

Library of Congress were especially useful in the practical discussions concerning bibliographical description and computerisation. The conference was introduced and hosted by Harry Shukman of St Antony's.

Sessions were conducted in English and/or Russian, and the degree of understanding which was reached was due in great part to Martin and Marina Dewhirst who generously gave their time to interpret. On the whole, papers were brief and discussions lengthy. Despite initial disagreement over details, a consensus was reached on three important issues. Firstly, on the *scope of the database*. A distinction was made between 'pure' or 'classical' samizdat of the pre-Gorbachev era and the so-called 'informal', 'independent' or 'non-traditional' publications of the glasnost period. It was decided to exclude the former and to include only the 'new press' in its widest interpretation (i.e. both registered and unregistered publications) from May 1987 onwards, with the closing date to be decided upon later. It was decided to include material in all languages of the former USSR. For the present, only serials would be included; individual documents and monographs could be added later. Secondly, agreement was reached on *standards of bibliographical description*. These would be based on ISBD as laid down in AACR2. Mandatory fields would be: title proper, corporate statement of responsibility, place of publication, predominant language of publication, linking notes (e.g. previous and later titles), dates of issues held. Each country where institutions were involved in the project would be allotted its own field for holdings data. A number of further, optional fields were also agreed on. No decision was made on subject access, though it was agreed that this was very important. Thirdly, broad decisions were taken on the *type of software to be used* and the *organisational set-up*. It was agreed to use the Pro-Cite software package which is specifically designed for bibliographical purposes. Its manufacturers demonstrated a prototype of a new version which, ultimately, would be able to sort on both Latin and Cyrillic alphabets. It was agreed that the bulk of the bibliographical and keyboarding work would be done in Moscow and that colleagues there would send diskettes on a regular basis to participating institutions in the West. For their part, Western participants undertook to find funding to cover the cost of sets of software and to help cover keyboarding costs. It is hoped that the proceedings of the conference will be published.

As a result of the Oxford conference, on 21 October 1991 the Association of Collectors and Researchers of the New Press (Assotsiatsiia sobiratelei i issledovatelei novoi pechaty) was set up in Moscow. The Association has been formed as a 'daughter organisation' of the Russian Bibliographical Society, but is legally independent. Its Declaration states that it is non-commercial and that its aim is 'to coordinate efforts to collect, preserve and research materials which reflect the cultural, social, ethnic, economic and political processes

taking place on the territory of the USSR and of the republics which were previously part of it'. The last sentence of the Declaration states that 'the first task of the Association is the creation of an international union catalogue of the new press'.

In May 1992 the new version of Pro-Cite, with Cyrillic driver, finally became available. Signals Trust has generously agreed to underwrite the cost of the ten copies needed so that work can proceed in Moscow, St Petersburg and Minsk, and these will be taken to Russia in mid-June. Further good news is that the US Joint Committee on Soviet Studies and its subcommittee BIRD (Bibliography, Information Retrieval, and Documentation) have agreed to contribute towards keyboarding costs. Therefore it is hoped that by the end of the year the database will be up and running. Individual libraries, having added local information, will be able to offer their users information both on their own holdings and on the holdings of other institutions. The system of having a field allotted to each individual country also makes it possible to publish printed national union catalogues. It is hoped that a follow-up conference may be held, possibly in autumn 1992, and possibly in Moscow.

Books Received

Fondy redkikh i tsennykh izdaniĭ (knizhnykh pamiatnikov) v bibliotekakh RSFSR: ukazatel'. Moskva, Gosudarstvennaia biblioteka imeni V. I. Lenina, NIO redkikh knig (Muzei knigi), 1990. 189 pp. Index.

B. A. Semenkover, *Retrospektivnaia gosudarstvennaia bibliografiia SSSR: spravochnik*. Moskva, Izdatel'stvo 'Knizhnaia palata', 1990. 303 pp. Indexes.

Forthcoming

Evrei v russkoi kul'ture zarubezh'ia (1919–1939): sbornik statei, memuarov, publikatsii i esse, sostavitel' Mikhail Parkhomovskii. Vyp. 1. Ierusalim, 1992. (Vyp. 2 due out in 1993.)

For further information, would-be contributors or subscribers should write to:

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Card Catalog of the Former Library Of the Prague Archive On Microfiche

One of the most important institutions to Russian emigration was the *Russkii zagranichnyi istoricheskii arkhiv* (RZIA), most frequently referred to as the "Prague Archive." For years, the fate of the library of the Archive was a matter of speculation. However, it is now known that the main part of the library remained in Prague and was closed until 1991.

There are two card catalogs to the former library of the RZIA. The main catalog, covering books, periodicals and ephemera, consists of approximately 80,000 handwritten cards. In addition, there is a catalog to newspapers with approximately 15,000 cards, including detailed holdings statements.

Card Catalog of the former library of the "Russkii Zagranichnyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv," 410 silver halide microfiche..... \$1,500

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Important volumes relating to the RZIA (library bindings):

Bulgakov, Valentin. *Slovar' russkikh zarubezhnykh pisatelei*. Galina Vaneckova, ed., ca. 300 pp., illus., 0-88354-353-2.....\$ 125

Magerovskii, Lev. *Bibliografiia gazetnykh sobranii russkogo istoricheskogo arkhiva za gody 1917-1921*. Prague, 1939. 136 pp., 0-88354-352-4.....\$ 100

Postnikov, Sergei. *Politika, ideologia, obschestvennaia zhizn' i nauchnie raboty russkoi emigratsii: Bibliografiia; iz kataloga "Russkii zagranichnyi istoricheskii arkhiv za rubezhom," 1918-1945 gg., 2 v., 350+350 pages, 0-88354-354-0 & 355-9...*\$ 250

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